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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXII

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ZU DEN MHD. KURZEN PRÄTERITA (FORTSETZUNG)

II. DAS PRÄTERITUM *lie* UND DER IMPERATIV *lā*

Die im Althochdeutschen vorkommenden Formen gestatten noch einigermassen den Weg zu verfolgen, auf dem sich die Entwicklung der kurzen Formen *gie*, *fie*, *lie* vollzogen hat. Die Neubildung ist am frühesten bezeugt bei dem Verbum *lāzen*, und zwar erscheint sie hier zuerst zu Notkers Zeit—also um die Wende des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts—im Singular des Imperativs.¹ Nicht nur ist Notker die Form *lā* als 2. sg. imper. schon ganz geläufig, sondern es ist auch ihr Verhältnis zu der älteren Form *lāz* bei ihm bereits ziemlich fest geregelt. Da man auf diese Regelung bisher nicht aufmerksam geworden ist, verlohnt es sich, sie näher ins Auge zu fassen, zumal dadurch Licht auf die Entstehung der kurzen Formen fallen wird.

¹ Wenn Williram sich einmal des Imper. *lā* bedient (*lā mih dine stimme uernēman* 148, 3), während er sonst *lāz* gebraucht (*unte lāz ōuh dīnen nith uāran* 137, 10; *unte lāz dāz uērdan* 149, 11), so ist die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass er hier dem Sprachgebrauche Notkers folgt. Denn die fränkischen Dialekte kennen in ahd. Zeit einen Imperativ *lā* so wenig, wie ein Präteritum *lie* (vgl. Franck, *Altfränk. Gramm.* S. 240). Die Sache würde dann bei Williram ähnlich liegen, wie später bei Wolfram, der die Präterita *lie*, *gie* usw., dem Vorbilde zeitgenössischer Dichter folgend, gelegentlich zulässt, obwohl sie seinem eignen Dialekte nicht gemäss waren. (Siehe Zwierzina in der *Festgabe für Heinzel*, S. 469). Es ist daher bezeichnend, dass die Leidener Williramhs. an der betr. Stelle die Form *laaz* einsetzt.

Alle übrigen ahd. Beispiele gehören dem alemannischen und bairischen Dialekte an. Ersterem die Glosse *la dich hera nider* (St.-S. 1, 709, 43) in einer Karlsruher Evangelienhs. des 11. Jhrh.; letzterem der Vers *ne lā dū mos de muozze*, Ps. 138, 24 (Braune, *Ahd. Leseb.* nr. 38; MS. *Denkm.*

Im Imperativ sing. tritt *lā* bei Notker vorzugsweise für schwachbetontes *lāz* ein, ausser wenn sich letzterem eine vokalisch anlautende Pronominalform unmittelbar anschliesst.² Der Imperativ ist schwachbetont, namentlich 1) wenn ein Infinitiv von ihm "abhängt," also wenn *lāzen* als sogen. Hilfszeitwort dient; in diesem Falle ruht nämlich der Hauptton auf dem abhängigen Satzgliede; 2) wenn er in Verbindung mit betontem Präpositional-Adverb ("trennbarem Präfix") auftritt.

Im einzelnen liegt die Sache folgendermassen.³

I. *lā*.

- 1) Es folgt ein abhängiger (betonter) Infinitiv:⁴

Sô lā dīn mēnden sīn. lā dīn fūrhten sīn. Bo. 50, 15.
die zīerda lā dū līchēn dīnēn sīten. M. Cap. 794, 1.
nelā mīh hūon diē mir be ūnrechte uuīdere sint. Ps. 34, 19.
Nelā uuerden pāleam filios ēcclesiē. ebd.
La dīh sīn lūsten. Ps. 36, 4.
La mīh uuīzzen. Ps. 38, 5.
Lā siē uuēren unz ze ābende. Ps. 58, 12.
Lā sīn fāsto truhten mīn gebēt in dīnen ōron. Ps. 85, 6.
Lā foregān confessionem peccatorum. Ps. 95, 6.
Nelā mir ingān des ih pīto. Ps. 118, 116.

- 2) Es folgt ein betontes Adverb:

Tāranāh lā ān dero ēristūn suēgelūn lēngi fōre. Mus. 857, 24.
Lā dāranāh fōre ān dero ānderūn suēgelūn lēngi. ebd. 857, 29.
ūnde lā fōre ān īro lēngi den drīten tēil des diametri. ebd. 858, 5.
ūnde lā an īro lēngi fōre dēn hālbēn tēil īro uuītf. ebd. 858, 11.
ūnde lā in īro lēngi fōre den āhtōden tēil des diametri. ebd. 858, 14.
la an dero fierdun fore den halben teil des diametri. ebd. 858, 17.
unde lā daz ahtoda fore. ebd. 858, 22.
Lā ān dero ēristūn fore. sō uīlo des diametri sī. ebd. 858, 25.

nr. 13) sowie die beiden von Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* S. 151 angeführten Vergilglossen 'mitte' *la* (St.-S. 2, 636, 50) und 'sine' *la* (ebd. 654, 43).

² Zuweilen ist diese Regel auf konsonantisch anlautende Pronominalformen ausgedehnt. (Siehe die Belege unter 11, 1, b).

³ Die Zitate bei den Psalmen nach Nummer und Vers, sonst nach Seiten und Zeilen der Ausgabe von Piper (Bd. 1, Tübingen 1882).

⁴ Wo der Infinitiv nicht selber betont ist, trägt ein mit ihm verbundener Satzteil den Hauptton; *lā* ist stets schwach betont.

3) *gelā* 'gewähre.'⁵

Daz kelā mir. *Ps.* 118, 111.

gelā dīnemo sūne. dāz er mánegi nēfōn geuūinne. *M. Cap.* 725, 19.

II. *lāz*.

1) Es folgt eine enklitische Pronominalform:

a) *Nelaz iz úngerihet sīn. Ps.* 34, 22.

Nelāz iz úngeandot sīn. Ps. 58, 6.

nelāz iz fersuiget uuerden fōne guōten. Ps. 108, 2.

Laz in gân den brēiten uueg. kang dû dén engen. Ps. 36, 7.

Daz erbe nelāz uns íngân. Ps. 73, 20.

b) *unde nelāz mih ána aliena. Ps.* 18, 14.

Neuúederēn laz mih kelīh sīn. Ps. 70, 4.

Nelāz mih scámeg uuérden. Ps. 24, 20.

Nelāz mih áne Gothêit ménnischen sīn. Ps. 27, 1.

Nelāz mih . . . negare vitam. Ps. 118, 188.

Laz mih in morgen gehōrren dīna genāda. Ps. 142, 8.

unde nelāz siē ferlóren uuérden. Ps. 24, 19.

Nelāz siē indrinnen sō siē inscihte sīn. Ps. 68, 25.

nelāz siū áne fructum dar gebōrgen sīn. Ps. 118, 11.

2) *lāzen* (mit tonlosem Präfix) ist nicht Hilfsverb, sondern Vollverb:⁶

a) *Truhten neferlaz mih. uuis mit mir. Ps.* 70, 18.

b) *Vnde únsere sculde belāz uns. Or. dom. (Piper II, 633, 21).*
fater belāz in (Interlinearglosse zu Pater ignosce illis). Ps.
18, 13.

fáter plaz in (desgl.) Ps. 27, 3.

fater blaz ín iz (desgl.) Ps. 93, 2.

Wie man sieht, erlauben diese Regeln wesentlich nur da eine freie Wahl, wo auf den Imperativ des schwach betonten Verbs eine

⁵ Vom Imperativ aus wird der Formunterschied zwischen *lāz* als Vollverb und *lā* als Hilfsverb dann auf die jüngeren Doppelformen *lāzen* und *lān* im Infinitiv und im Ptz. prt. übertragen. Dass er sich bei diesen Formen bei den klassischen Dichtern der mhd. Zeit findet, hat C. Kraus in seiner eingehenden Untersuchung über bestimmte Formen von *stān*, *gān* und *lān* in Hartmanns Gedichten (*Abhandlungen zur germ. Philologie*. Festgabe für R. Heinzel. Halle 1898, S. 152-161) nachgewiesen. "Hartmann gebraucht die zweisilbige Form *lāzen* immer nur in prägnanter Bedeutung, niemals in der abgeschwächten, der auxiliaren verwandten; es ist bekannt, dass sich bei *haben*, *hān* ähnliche Unterschiede finden" (S. 158). Ebenso liegt die Sache nach Kraus' Ermittlung (ebd., Anm. 3) bei Gottfried von Strassburg und bei Wolfram.

⁶ Wie sich weiter unten herausstellen wird, ist in diesem Falle die Bedeutung für die Wahl der Form massgebend.

konsonantisch anlautende Pronominalform unmittelbar folgt. In diesem Falle kann entweder das ältere *lāz* (wie dies stets bei folgendem vokalisch anlautenden Pronomen geschieht) beibehalten werden, oder es kann (in Einklang mit der sonst bei Notker üblichen Behandlung des Hilfsverbs *lāzen*) die jüngere Form *lā* eintreten.

Von diesem Schwanken und von der (zu dem Sprachgebrauche der *Wiener Genesis* stimmenden) Sonderstellung der vokalisch anlautenden Pronominalformen abgesehen wird die Scheidung zwischen *lā* und *lāz* durch den Akzent bestimmt: *lā* ist schwachtonig, *lāz* vollbetont. Nur *gelā* 'gewähre' ist abweichend behandelt. Das mag zunächst wie ein einfacher Lautübergang aussehen. Aber wo geht sonst ein *z* im Auslaute schwach betonter Wörter verloren? Und wie erklärt sich bei dieser Voraussetzung die Ausnahme *gelā*? Offenbar muss etwas anderes zu Grunde liegen.

Man pflegt die kurzen Formen des Verbums *lāzen* jetzt auf Rechnung der Verba *stān* und *gān* zu setzen. Z. B. bemerkt Paul, *Mhd. Gramm.* § 180: "Zusammengezogene Formen neben den vollen zeigen die Verba *lāzen* und *haben*. Auf die ersteren hat die Analogie der Verba *gān*, *stān* eingewirkt"; und Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 351 A. 2 verweist für das Althochdeutsche auf diese Erklärung Pauls. Allerdings stehen ja im Mhd. die Formen von *lā(ze)n* denen von *gān* und *stān* vielfach sehr nahe. Aber auch hier muss der Umstand bedenklich machen, dass eine Berührung in der Bedeutung, wie man sie für die Formübertragung voraussetzen möchte, schwerlich vorhanden ist. Auf die Zeit Notkers passt die Erklärung noch weniger, insofern es zu dieser Zeit selbst an einer rein äusserlichen Ähnlichkeit des Formensystems mangelt. Denn die bei Notker vorkommenden kurzen Formen des Verbs *lāzen* einerseits und der Verba *gān* und *stān* andererseits schliessen sich gegenseitig aus. Wo *gān* und *stān* kurze Formen haben, hat *lāzen* lange Formen; und umgekehrt kommen kurze Formen bei *lāzen* nur da vor, wo *gān* und *stān* lange Formen aufweisen.

Besonders deutlich tritt dies im Imperativ hervor.⁷ Zu *gān* (*gangan*) und *stān* (*standan*) gehören bei Notker die Imperativ-

⁷ Bei dem Verbum *gān* steht Notkers Gebrauch in Einklang mit der allgemein ahd. Regel. Denn wie schon Graff IV, 68 hervorhob, wird der Imper. sg. nur von *gangan*, der Imper. pl. nur von *gān* (*gēn*) gebildet. Für den Plural sind dabei allerdings die Tatianübersetzung und Notker die einzigen Zeugen. Bei *stān* trifft die entsprechende Regel nur für den Singu-

formen 2. sg. *gang* (Bo. 44, 13; Ps. 36, 7), *stant* (*stant* ūf Ps. 3, 7; 7, 7; 9, 20 usw., vgl. Graff IV, 606); 2. pl. *gānt* (Ps. 95, 8; 99, 2. 4), *stānt* (*ferstānt iuh*, Ps. 93, 8; *stānt* ūf, Ps. 126, 2). Während hier der Singular vom längeren, der Plural vom kürzeren Stamme gebildet ist, liegt die Sache bei *lāzen* umgekehrt. Die kurze Form *lā* begegnet nur im Singular, und zwar neben der längeren Form *lāz*; der Plural dagegen wird stets vom längeren Stamme gebildet. Die Belege für den Singular sind bereits oben verzeichnet. Der Imper. pl. lautet bei Notker durchaus *lāzent* (Bo. 12, 28; Ps. 2, 10; 30, 25; 32, 1; 118, 115; Cant. Annae 3) oder *lāzzent* (Ps. 6, 9; 45, 11; 61, 11; *lazzent toufen*, Glosse zu *baptizetur* 58, 14). Diese beiden Formen sind natürlich nur graphisch verschieden. Von der alemannischen Endung abgesehen, deren *n* übrigens (mit Ausnahme der einen Stelle 45, 11) in der Wiener Bearbeitung der Psalmen wieder beseitigt ist, stimmt diese Pluralform zu der üblichen ahd. Form *lāzet*.

Die angeführten Tatsachen scheinen mir die Möglichkeit auszuschliessen, dass die Form *lā* ihren Ursprung den *gā*- und *stā*-Formen verdanke. Läge ein Einfluss letzterer vor, so würde man im Plural des Imperativs nach *gānt* und *stānt* die Form **lānt* erwarten. Im Singular dagegen sollte nach dem Muster von *gang* und *stant* die Form *lāz* unangetastet geblieben sein.

Es gilt also, eine andre Erklärung zu suchen. Und zwar kommt es nur darauf an, den Imper. sg. *lā* neben *lāz* zu erklären, da der Plural *lāzent*—von dem *n* der Endung abgesehen—keine Änderung erfahren hat.

Die Umgestaltung des alten *lāz* zu *lā* kommt, möchte ich glauben, auf Rechnung des Imperativs *tuo*. Zunächst stehen sich *lā(z)* und *tuo* syntaktisch sehr nahe. An Unterschieden im einzelnen fehlt es zwar nicht. Aber diese Unterschiede treten zurück gegenüber dem, was beiden im Vergleiche mit anderen Verben gemeinsam ist.

Beides sind Verba von sehr allgemeiner Bedeutung, indem sie im weitesten Sinne Beteiligung an einer Handlung ausdrücken.

lar ausnahmslos zu, da der Plural zwischen der kurzen und der längeren Bildung schwankt. Erstere ist (von Notker abgesehen) meines Wissens nur durch *erstēt*, Tat. 182, 8 bezeugt, während letztere in *arstantet* ebd. 91, 3, *erstantet* ebd. 166, 4, *uorstantent* ebd. 84, 6 und *forstantet Mons. Frg.* 40, 14 u. 23 vorliegt.

Bei 'tun' ist der Anteil ein tätiger, während er sich bei 'lassen' zunächst darauf beschränkt, der Handlung keinen Widerstand entgegen zu setzen. Aber die Grenze zwischen diesen beiden Begriffen ist fließend. Wenn wir sagen, "der Richter liess sich den Angeklagten vorführen," so stellt die Sprache den Vorgang so hin, als verhielte sich der Richter dabei nur passiv, was ja in einem gewissen Sinne auch zutrifft. Aber zugleich ist es doch eben der Richter, der den Auftrag zu der Handlung gibt, also in hervorragendem Masse tätig—wenn auch nur mit seinem Worte—an dem Vorgange beteiligt ist. Ferner dürfen wir nicht vergessen, dass auch Gegensätze sich in der Sprache häufig beeinflussen (vgl. z. B. engl. *female*, nach *male* umgebildet), wie ja auch Gegensätze oft durch 'und' verbunden werden (tun und lassen,⁸ gehn und stehn. Freund und Feind, Mann und Weib, Tag und Nacht, usw.).

Eine hervorstechende syntaktische Eigenheit beider besteht darin, dass sie einerseits—so namentlich auch in Zusammensetzungen—als Vollverba mit nominalem Objekt gebraucht werden können (etwas tun, Busse tun, etwas lassen, etwas unterlassen, jmd. eine Strafe erlassen, usw.), andererseits als Hilfsverba in Verbindung mit einem zweiten Verbum. Letztere Konstruktion ist bei dem Verbum *tun* der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache jetzt abhanden gekommen, war aber der älteren Sprache ganz geläufig (vgl. Grimm, *Gr.* IV, 94), und hat sich u. a. im heutigen Englisch (namentlich in negativen und Fragesätzen, z. B. *do not forget to tell him, did you forget that I told you?* usw.) in weitem Umfange erhalten.

Als Gegenstück zu den oben verzeichneten Beispielen für den Imper. *lā* mit folgendem Verbum folgen hier einige ahd. Beispiele für den entsprechenden Gebrauch des Imperativs *tuo*.⁹

ni tuo trumbun singan fora thir (= *noli tuba canere ante te*)
Tat. 33, 2.

⁸ "und durch mich tuont unde lānt *Iw.* 28. si wolte tuon unde lān *Trist.* 10280. Dieses *tun* und *lassen* ist eine stehende, auch in Urkunden gewöhnliche Redensart" Müller-Z., *Mhd. Wtb.* unt. *lāze* (I, 944).—Vgl. die Belege für: *lassen*, mit seinem Gegensatz *tun* formelhaft verbunden, bei Grimm-Heyne, *Dt. Wtb.* unt. *lassen* I, 5, c (Bd. VI, Sp. 220).

⁹ Diese Konstruktion ist natürlich nicht—so wenig wie bei *lāzen*—auf den Imperativ beschränkt. Man findet reichhaltige Nachweise für das Althochdeutsche bei Graff, *Ahd. Sprachschatz* v, 301 f. (*tuon*) u. 312 f. (*getuon*).

Die übrigen Beispiele gehören sämtlich Notker an:

- Tuô mih resurgere tertia die. *Ps.* 21, 20.
 unde tuô siê uuêsen suert unde scilt. *Ps.* 34, 2.
 Duô sia irstân. ebd. 17.
 unde tuô mih pechennen Got. *Ps.* 38, 5.
 unde tuô gebórn uerden christum dîn liêht. *Ps.* 42, 3.
 so tuo mih kehorren. *Ps.* 142, 8.
 Ketûo sinen sín uinden gûotes úrspring. *Bo.* 179, 6.
 I'n getûo fôlgên dînên uuórten. *M. Cap.* 718, 29.
 Ketuô mánege sêla uuesen dero rehton. *Ps.* 34, 3.
 ketuô siê danne salubriter gehôren. *Ps.* 73, 19.

Seiner äusseren Gestalt nach nimmt der Imperativ *lâz* unter den Formen des Verbums *lâzen* insofern eine Sonderstellung ein, als er im Präsenssystem die einzige einsilbige Form dieses Verbums ist. Unter den Perfektformen steht mit ihm in dieser Hinsicht nur die 1. 3. sg. *liez*, von der später die Rede sein wird, auf einer Linie. Hierin lag ein formeller Berührungspunkt mit dem Imperativ *tuo* vor, der bei der Ähnlichkeit der Bedeutung und der grammatischen Funktion leicht dazu führen konnte, die beiden Formen einander weiter anzugleichen. Die Sprache hat diesen Weg tatsächlich eingeschlagen, indem sie den Imperativ *lâz* seinem Gegenstück *tuo* dadurch annäherte, dass sie ihm—wenn auch mit gewissen Einschränkungen—vokalischen Auslaut gab.

Die Neigung, das ausl. *z* nach dem Muster der bequemer Form *tuo* fallen zu lassen, machte sich namentlich da geltend, wo der Imperativ *lâz* schwach betont war, sei es dass er als Hilfsverb diente, oder dass ihm ein betontes Verbalpräfix folgte. Hier wird sie nur eingeschränkt durch den Fall, dass sich an den Imperativ eine enklitische Pronominalform anschliesst. Für sich allein ist der Anschluss des Pronomens freilich noch nicht ausschlaggebend. Bei konsonantischem Anlaute der Pronominalform kann das ausl. *z* nach Belieben wegfallen oder beibehalten werden. Es bleibt jedoch stets vor vokalischem Anlaute der Pronominalform, also da, wo die Abneigung gegen den Hiatus hinzutritt.

Aber auch vollbetontes *lâzen* kann im Imper. sg. sein ausl. *z* aufgeben. Es handelt sich hier vorwiegend um Zusammensetzungen mit untrennbarem Präfix, wie *belâzen*, *gelâzen*, *verlâzen*. Der Einfluss des Imper. *tuo* ist auch hier unverkennbar. Alle vorhandenen (oder wenigstens alle mir bekannten) Beispiele fügen sich der folgenden Regel: Komposita von *lâzen*, die sich in ihrer Be-

deutung nahe mit entsprechenden Komposita von *tuon* berühren, geben ihr ausl. *z* auf; ist dagegen den entsprechenden Zusammensetzungen von *tuon* gegenüber die Bedeutung bei den Zusammensetzungen von *lāzen* eigenartig entwickelt, so behält der Imperativ *lāz* seinen Auslaut. Daher heisst es *gelā* 'gewähre,' aber *belāz* 'erlasse, vergib,' und *ferlāz* 'verlasse.' Ersteres steht seinem Gegenstück *getuo* seiner Bedeutung nach so nahe, dass man beide oft genug ohne Beeinträchtigung des Sinnes vertauschen könnte. Dagegen stehen sich *belāzen*, *ferlāzen* und *betuon*, *fertuon* der Bedeutung nach ganz fern; es fehlte also hier die als Grundlage für die Formübertragung unentbehrliche innere (intellektuelle) Verknüpfung.

Dem Imperativ sing. *lā(z)* folgte in der Abwerfung des Auslautes das Präteritum sing. (1. u. 3. Person) *lie(z)*. Über diese beiden Formen geht zu Notkers Zeit der Verlust des *z* bei dem Verbum *lāzen* nicht hinaus. Der Grund ist klar: *lāz* und *liez* sind in dem Formensystem von *lāzen* die beiden einzigen auf *z* auslautenden einsilbigen Formen. Was dem einsilbigen Imperativ recht war, war der einsilbigen Präteritalform billig: es geriet der auslautende Konsonant auch bei ihr ins Wanken. Bei Notker, der die vokalisch auslautende Form im Imperativ schon oft gebraucht, ist sie im Präteritum noch selten. Sie begegnet in den uns erhaltenen Schriften nur an einer Stelle: Bo. 126, 2. *Sī lie daz sūng ūz.* (= *Iam finiuerat illa cantum.*) Die Seltenheit der Form im Ahd.¹⁰ gegenüber dem älteren *liez* (*liaz*) erklärt sich daraus, dass sie später als der Imperativ *lā* entstanden ist.

Einer noch jüngeren Schicht gehört die 3. sg. *lāt* im *Memento mori* (Str. 13, 4)¹¹ sowie *uzlāt* (Glosse zu *effundit*) in den Einsiedler *Prudentiusglossen*, St.-S. II, 522, 47 (Hs. des 11. Jahrh., vgl. Steinmeyers Handschriften-Verzeichnis, *Ahd. Glossen*, Bd. IV,

¹⁰ Sie findet sich ausser an dieser Stelle, so viel ich weiss, nur noch zweimal in der aus Tegernsee stammenden, nach Docen (vgl. Steinmeyer, *Ahd. Glossen*, IV, 561) um 1070 geschriebenen, grossen Glossenhandschrift Clm. 18140: 'indulsit' *gilie* St.-S. II, 600, 70; 'cesserat' *gilie* ebd. 602, 57.

¹¹ In diesem Gedichte (MS. *Denkm.* 3 nr. 30, b; Braune, *Ahd. Lesebuch* nr. 42) sind die sogen. 'kontrahierten' Formen überhaupt sehr beliebt: *vān* (d. i. *fān*, für *fāhen*) 5, 2; *geslāt* (3. sg.) 6, 6; *hān* (Inf.) 1, 6; 7, 8; *hāt* (3. sg.) 10, 8; *hānt* (2. pl.) 7, 6; 11, 5.

S. 425, Nr. 120) an.¹² Denn diese Form leitet schon hinüber zu dem mittelhochd. Sprachgebrauche, wo *lā(ze)n* in den Präsensformen dem Muster von *gān* und *stān* folgt, wenn auch mit der Einschränkung, dass *ē*-Formen bei *lān* nicht zugelassen werden. Das Bestehen des von *gān* und *stān* seiner Entstehung nach unabhängigen Imperativs *lā* liefert den Schlüssel für diese sonst unverständliche Einwirkung der *gān*- und *stān*-Formen auf die Flexion von *lāzen*. Freilich auch mit Hilfe dieses *lā* lässt sich *lāt* in der 3. sg. des Indikativs kaum verstehen, wenn nicht vorher schon *lā* aus dem Imper. sg. in den Imper. pl. oder in die 2. sg. des Indikativs eingedrungen war. Derartige Formen sind für die mhd. Frühzeit belegt,¹³ und aus dem Spätmhd. wohl nur zufällig nicht überliefert.

Das Präteritum *gie* tritt zuerst im *Merigarto* auf, wo es viermal vorkommt (vgl. Schatz, *Alt Bair. Gramm.* S. 151) und in *Ezzos Gesang von den Wundern Christi* (V. 101). Ob es dem Prät. *lie* nachgebildet ist—was voraussetzen würde, dass Formen wie *lāt*, *lān* schon vorhanden waren und mit *gāt*, *gān* in Parallele gesetzt wurden—oder ob es sich unabhängig von *lie* zu den *gān*-Formen des Präsens entwickelt hat, wird sich schwerlich ausmachen lassen. Jedenfalls ist *gie*, der Überlieferung nach zu urteilen, etwas jünger als *lie*.

Das Präteritum *fie*, *enphie* ist im Althochdeutschen noch nicht belegt. Doch war die Vorbedingung für das Weglassen des Auslautes in Präsensformen wie dem Inf. *fān* (vgl. Anm.¹¹) und der 3. sg. *enphāt* (vgl. Anm.¹²) gegeben.

Zu dem Aufkommen und der Ausbreitung der kurzen Präteritalformen wird der Umstand beigetragen haben, dass es mit Hilfe dieser Neubildungen möglich war, bei den Indikativformen der hierher gehörigen Präterita zwischen dem Stamme des Singulars (abgesehen von der 2. sg., die ja aber auch bei den ablautenden Verben im Mhd. eine Sonderstellung einnimmt) und des Plurals einen deutlichen Unterschied zu schaffen und dadurch die Bildung des Präteritums dieser Verba derjenigen der ablautenden Verba anzunähern. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus wird es verständlich, dass die kurzen Präteritalformen sich meist nur so lange halten,

¹² In derselben Hs. ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Glosse 'concepit' *enphāt*, St.-S. II, 522, 36 bemerkenswert. Sie verhält sich zu dem (für das Ahd. nicht überlieferten) Präter. *enphie* wie *lāt* zu *lie*.

¹³ Die 2. pl. imper. *lāt* z. B. in der *Wiener Gen.*, vgl. ob. S. 210.

als bei den ablautenden Verben der Unterschied zwischen Singular- und Pluralstamm streng aufrecht erhalten wird. Mit der Ausgleichung beider bei den ablautenden Verben geht der Verlust der Formen *lie, gie, fie* und die ausschliessliche Verwendung von *liess, gieng, fieng* im Neuhochdeutschen Hand in Hand.

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OLD FRENCH *ESPOIT*

Under *espoit* Godefroy gives three distinct words, all spelled in the same way. He translates them as follows: (1) *espoit*, "*jaillissement d'une source*"; (2) *espoit*, "*becquebois, piver*"; (3) *espoit*, "*épieu, broche*." The second and third are well-established Old French forms, proved by numerous citations. They do not need further explanation. It is accordingly with the first only that we are to deal here. Of this Godefroy gives but two citations. The first is from the Arthurian poem of *La Mule sanz frain*,¹ or *La Damoisele a la mure*.

Lors li a Gauvains recontees
Les aventures qu'ot trovees:
De la grant valee et do bois,
Et de la fontaine a espois,
Et de l'eve qui noire estoit.

Vv. 1091-5.

This passage occurs near the end of the poem, where the author gives a recapitulation of the various incidents of the journey of the hero. All the adventures listed here have been already described more or less in detail in the first part of the work. Therefore, in order to understand *fontaine a espois*, one should read the description of the fountain as found in vv. 214-222:

En une plainne est descenduz;
A sa mule a la sele ostee.
Lors voit il eve en mi la pree,
Mout pres d'iluec une fontaine
Qui mout estoit et clere et sainne,

¹ Ed. by R. T. Hill, Baltimore, 1911; also by B. Orlowski, Paris, 1911.

Et qui mout bien i avenoit.
 Avironee entor estoit
 De flors, d'epins² et de genoivre.
 Maintenant sa mule i aboivre.

Thus the fountain is shown to be a clear, wholesome spring surrounded by a mass of bushes, hawthorns, and junipers. It will be noted that there is no reference to the gushing of the water. Why then should this characteristic be specially mentioned in the poet's *résumé*, when it has not figured in his preceding description? Would it not be more natural that a reference to the thicket should be included? One is thus led to ask whether *espois* might not refer to *flors, d'epins et de genoivre*. In Old French we find *espes* as the regular derivative of Latin *spissu* and also *espeis, espois* due to the analogy of *espoisse* < **spissēa* and *espoissier* < **spissiare*.³ Furthermore, *espois* is used both as adjective and noun, in the latter case having the meaning of "thickness" just like *espoisse*. Cf. *Ne fu puis om qu'il pēust empirier, Ne mais itant l'espes de dous deniers. Coronem. Looïs, 600-601*. For other examples cf. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire*, ix, 543. We have thus seen that *espois* is used like *espoisse* with the meaning of thickness. The latter, however, has frequently a special meaning of a thick mass of woods or bushes, i. e., thicket. Cf.

Tristran se fu mis a la voie
 Par l'espesse d'un'espinoie.

Tristran, Bér. 4353-4354.

En un' espoise aval s'en traient.

Ib., 1537.

The first of these citations shows that *espoisse* has undergone the gradual process of transformation of meaning from "thickness" to "thicket." As *espois* is used as a substantive, it seems but reasonable that it should have also acquired the secondary meaning of "thicket" which is so evidently appropriate in the passage under discussion.

As for the rhyme of *espois* : *bois*, there are several instances in *La Mule sanz fraïn* of *oi* < *ō* + *i* : *oi* < *ei*; cf. *joie* : *auroie*, 81;

² In Godefroy's *Dictionnaire* this word is cited as *epus*, and no meaning given. This error was due to Méon's edition of the poem, as explained by a note to v. 221 in my edition. The ms. is clearly *epins*, which is also the reading of the Sainte Palaye copy.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, i, 111; Thomas, *Mélanges d'étymologie*, p. 51.

bois : *mois*, 145; *angois* : *bois*, 191. Even as late as the seventeenth century *espois* is found in rhyme with *bois* in Scarron's *Virgile travesti* (*De son gros chef couvert de bois S'exhale maint nuage espois*). On the other hand, if we are to accept *espois* as a plural of *espoit* the *s* must = *ts*. Now, the author of *La Mule* avoids the rhyme of *s* : *ts*, as I have pointed out in my edition, p. 6. So this forms another argument against *espoit*.

It seems evident, therefore, that in this passage we have *espois*, a well-known Old French form whose etymology and meaning have been demonstrated, and not *espoit* of unknown source and uncertain signification.

It remains now to examine the only other citation Godefroy gives under *espoit*, "*jaillissement d'une source*." This is from the Old French poem on the *Vie de Ste. Euphrosine*.⁴ The verse in which *espoit* occurs is found only in the ms. of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The passage is as follows:

Pasnutius ses peres fut de riche parage.
Heredité ot bone qui mut de son linage;
De l'espoit kin essit ne sai faire estimage.
Molhier prist honeree ki fut de son terrage.

Vv. 21-24.

It is first of all obvious that the meaning given by Godefroy for *espoit* is impossible here. The question is then to find a solution of the verse. In examining the entire text according to the four mss., it was discovered that in v. 201 the Bodleian ms. had the verb *espoitier*: *Li peres convoitos de la chose espoitier*. Here the other three mss. show the correct form to be *exploitier*. This correction was still further proved by v. 342: *Entretant poras bien de la chose exploitier*, where all four mss. unite in giving the same reading. By comparing these cases it appears clear that the *espoit*

⁴ Paul Meyer, in his *Recueil d'Anciens Textes*, Paris, 1877, part 2, pp. ii-iv and 334 ff., has printed a few strophes of the latter part of the poem as found in the Bodleian and Arsenal mss. In his *Documents manuscrits*, p. 203, he has published the beginning and the conclusion from the Bodleian ms. only. It is from the latter publication that Godefroy took his citation. Except for these fragments, the *Vie de Ste. Euphrosine* has never been published. The writer of this article has copied all four mss. of the poem and is now engaged in preparing an edition which he expects to bring out in the near future.

of v. 23 should be *exploit*.⁵ This word means "revenue," "income" in Old French. It fits in appropriately in v. 23. "Pasnutius has inherited a large fortune; so vast is it that the poet cannot estimate the income from it." When one compares this meaning with the interpretation given by Godefroy, it seems to me there can be little doubt as to which is correct.

Since the only two examples of *espoit*, "*jaillissement d'une source*," have been shown to be, not *espoit* at all, but *espois* and *exploit*, and since as far as I have been able to discover, no other instances of *espoit* with the above meaning have been cited in Old French, it seems reasonable to conclude that this definition of Godefroy has no justification.

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NOTE ON BULWER-LYTTON'S TRANSLATION OF SCHILLER'S *FANTASIE AN LAURA*

The task of rendering into a foreign tongue Schiller's early poems, in which his youthful exuberance often found vent in comparisons and images so extravagant as to render his meaning obscure even to German readers, may well baffle the skill and the patience of the most expert translator. To Bulwer-Lytton the epithet of "skilful" and "expert" must no doubt be conceded; for, if in his *Poems and Ballads of Schiller*¹ we sometimes look in vain for the vigor and poetic glow of the original, we are hardly ever disappointed as far as the correctness of the rendering is concerned. But Bulwer was also a painstaking translator, as will appear from the facts here to be discussed.

The leading thought of Schiller's *Fantasie an Laura* (first published 1782, in the *Anthologie*), as is well known, is formed by the idea that sympathy, the laws of attraction, of affinity, of love, not

⁵ The loss of *l* after a consonant or when final is one of the characteristic traits of the Oxford MS.; cf. *aute* for *autel*, *qui* for *qu'il*, *de* for *del*, *boie* for *bloie*, *escarcie* for *esclarcie*, etc. This is one of the well-known peculiarities of the Walloon dialect to which this MS. belongs. Cf. *Romania*, xvi, 121; xvii, 565; *Poème Moral*, in *Rom. Forsch.*, III, p. 107.

¹ London, 1844, 2 vols. Here the *Tauchnitz Edition* (Leipzig, 1844) is quoted.

only rule over the macrocosm of the heavenly spheres, but also govern our human emotions. Even sensations diametrically opposed are subject to this eternal law. Thus, joy is forever linked to pain, hope to despair, delight to melancholy. On the other hand, Hell attracts vice, and Heaven rejects it, sin is followed by shame and remorse, renown by danger; pride goes before the fall, envy clings to Fortune, voluptuousness causes premature death.² The stanzas, however, in which Schiller expresses this idea, are fraught with strange conceits; they are indeed "überspannt" and betray an "allzu unbändige Imagination," to use Schiller's own words in his review of the *Anthologie* in the *Wirtembergisches Repertorium*.³ The stanzas in question (9-14) read:

Gleich allmächtig, wie dort in der todtten
Schöpfung ewgem Federtrieb,
Herrscht im arachneischen Gewebe
Der empfindenden Natur die Lieb'.

Siehe, Laura, Frölichkeit umarmet
Wilder Schmerzen Ueberschwung,
An der Hoffnung Liebesbrust erwarmet
Starrende Verzweiflung.

Schwesterliche Wollust mildert
Düstrer Schwermuth Schauernacht,
Und entbunden von den goldnen Kindern,
Stralt das Auge Sonnenpracht.

Waltet nicht auch durch des Uebels Reiche
Fürchterliche Sympathie?
Mit der Hölle bulen unsre Laster,
Mit dem Himmel grollen sie.

Um die Sünde flechten Schlangenwirbel
Scham und Reu', das Eumenidenpaar,
Um der Gröse Adlerflügel windet
Sich verräth'risch die Gefahr.

Mit dem Stolze pflegt der Sturz zu tändeln,
Um das Glück zu klammern sich der Neid,
Ihrem Bruder Tode zuzuspringen
Offnen Armes, Schwester Lüsternheit.⁴

² Cf. *Schiller's lyrische Gedichte*, erläutert von H. Düntzer, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 305-311.

³ Düntzer, p. 35.

⁴ This is the text of the *Anthologie* as given in Goedeke, *Schillers sämtliche Schriften*, I, pp. 209-211, Stuttgart, 1867.

For a while Bulwer was entirely at a loss as to the meaning of these lines, and was particularly puzzled by the expression "Goldene Kinder." In his predicament he asked the advice of his friend Carlyle in a letter (hitherto unpublished), the original of which we find in the large collection of autographs and general correspondence of Varnhagen von Ense, the well-known historian and miscellaneous writer (1785-1858), now in the possession of the Royal Library of Berlin.⁵ The letter is not unworthy of the author of *Pelham*:

My dear Sir:—

Will you forgive me for resorting to you in a difficulty. In Schiller's poem of "Fantasie to Laura," Stanza 11, what does he mean by "goldenen Kindern"—Is this any allusion, do you suppose, to some passage in German Poetry with which I am unacquainted?—or does he mean the Golden Children to refer to the *Frohlichkeit* (*sic*) of one Stanza and the *Schwesterliche Wollust* of the other . . . (rather tawdry as well as obscure if he does)—or in short what the deuce does he mean by his Golden Children.—The only golden Children worth having, poor Men—(which the Cavalier Wits under Charles II used to call Golden Boys)—were certainly not more in his mind than in his pocket—tho' they have no small connexion with *Frohlichkeit* & *Wollust*.—To say the truth I don't clearly comprehend his general idea from Stanza 10 to 14, that is—I don't see how far these stanzas are pertinent either to Love or to Laura— . . . but I don't ask Schiller to give me general understanding—I have a right to ask him the intention of his own children—Golden or otherwise.

Forgive my intrusion

& believe me

truly yours

E. L. Bulwer.

To this Carlyle added the following marginal note, for Varnhagen's and our own enlightenment. "Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer Bart.;—written probably two years ago: it appears he was then translating some things of Schiller's for Blackwood's Magazine."⁶

⁵ Cf. Ludwig Stern, *Die Varnhagen von Ense'sche Sammlung in der Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1911, sub Bulwer, p. 119.

⁶ Bulwer's translations were first printed, in an order which somewhat

Carlyle's answer is not known to us; but answer he did—although his explanation did not quite meet the case. For the only "variant" which is to be discovered in the *Blackwood's* text as compared to the book-edition refers precisely to the ominous eleventh stanza. It reads in the Magazine:

Of sister-kin to melancholy Woe,
 Voluptuous Pleasure comes, and with the birth
 Of her gay children, (golden Wishes,) lo,
 Night flies, and sunshine settles on the earth.

To this, Bulwer adds a note which begins: "Literally 'the eye beams its sun-splendour,' or, 'beams like a sun.' For the construction that the Translator has put upon the original (which is extremely obscure) in the preceding lines of the stanza, he is indebted to Mr. Carlyle."

It was only later that Bulwer discovered—or was told—the real meaning of the stanza, and in the book-edition the five stanzas quoted above, including the puzzling eleventh, are correctly translated:

Mighty alike to sway the flood and ebb
 Of the inanimate Matter, or to move
 The nerves that weave the treacherous web
 Of Sentient Life—rules all-pervading Love!

Ev'n in the Moral World, embrace and meet
 Emotions—Gladness clasps the extreme of Care;
 And Sorrow, at the worst, upon the sweet
 Breast of young Hope, is thaw'd from its despair.

Of sister-kin to melancholy Woe,
 Voluptuous Pleasure comes, and happy eyes
 Delivered of the tears, their children, glow
 Lustrous as sunbeams—and the Darkness flies!

The same great Law of Sympathy is given
 To Evil as to Good, and if we swell
 The dark account that life incurs with Heaven,
 'Tis that our Vices are thy Wooers, Hell!

differs from the book-edition, in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vols. 52-54, the first instalment appearing in the issue for September, 1842 (vol. 52, p. 283 sq.). In a short preface the author proclaims his general principle of "translating line by line, and of assigning to each poem the same number of verses as contents the idea in the native German." The *Fantasie to Laura* was printed in vol. 53, pp. 638-639, May, 1843.

In turn those Vices are embraced by Shame
 And fell Remorse, the twin Eumenides.
 Danger still clings in fond embrace to Fame,
 Mounts on her wing, and flies where'er she flees.

Destruction marries its dark self to Pride,
 Envy to Fortune: when Desire most charms,
 'Tis that her brother Death is by her side,
 For him she opens those voluptuous arms.

The opening sentences of the note have also been changed. Bulwer first quotes the German text of st. 11, line 3-4, explaining that the "Golden Children of the Eye" are the tears. The remainder of the note is identical in the two editions: The author points out the obscurity of the poem, gives a plausible explanation of the leading thought, and justifies his free renderings: "The connecting links [of the idea] are so slender, nay so frequently omitted, in the original, that a certain degree of paraphrase in many of the stanzas is absolutely necessary to supply them, and render the general sense and spirit of the poem intelligible to the English reader."

This is no doubt correct; but unfortunately additions such as "Ev'n in the Moral World," or "If we swell the dark account that Vice incurs with Heaven" sound rather prosaic and are detrimental to that impression of rugged impetuosity that is the chief charm of the youthful Schiller. It is cases like these—rare cases, indeed,—that would seem to justify G. H. Lewes's rather unfavorable estimate of the book given in a note to Varnhagen, of March 27, 1844:⁷ "Bulwer has recently published a translation of Schiller's *Gedichte*, with a *Life*. I have only dipped into it here and there, but fear it will be found more Bulwer than Schiller."

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⁷ Cf. Stern, *l. c.*, sub Lewes (unpublished).

THE FABLE AS POETRY IN ENGLISH CRITICISM

In a discussion of the rimed fable in England (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI, 206) I hazarded the use of the prose Aesop in the schools as an explanation of the rather odd fact that we have no collection of fables in verse from the days of Henrisone to the end of the sixteenth century. The enthusiastic veneration for Aesop as a poet manifested by Lydgate and Henrisone gave place to a more familiar regard for him as a teller of moral or pithy anecdotes. True as I believe this conjecture to be, on the whole, a fair presentation of the case calls for a recognition of the fact that during this period we have an expression of critical opinion specifically referring to Aesop as a poet, and to the fable as a form of poetry. A consideration of the extent to which the poetic concept of the fable prevailed and the extremes to which this was carried in a later century would seem a necessary complement to the previous discussion.

It was no reminiscence of Latin elegiacs or medieval regard that called forth the first and most famous pronouncement in the Elizabethan period, but the Puritan attack upon poetry. When that began, the exemplary and moral character of the fable made Aesop, the poet, a valuable ally for the defense, and it is in this capacity that he appears in Sidney's eulogium of the poet, in which we are told that "the Poet is indeed the right Popular Philosopher, whereof *Esops* tales give good prooffe."

This passage and that in which Sidney declares that "Infinite proofes of the strange effects of this poetickall invention might be alledged," citing the fable of Menenius Agrippa, are too well-known to need quotation.¹

Sidney's conception of poetry was quite in accord with renaissance theory; its defense was its ethical import.² Furthermore, Sidney conceived of poetry as determined rather by the creative invention of the writer than by any canon of form. A more strictly æsthetic theory was in process of formulation even with Sidney himself, but his influence was such as to assist in

¹ *Apologie for Poetrie*, Arber's Reprint, p. 35 and p. 41.

² *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, Oxford, 1904, I, xxiv ff.

the continuance of this identification of fable and poesy. It is clearly with Sidney before him that Davenant writes in the preface to *Gondibert*, 1651:

And it appears that Poesy hath for its natural prevailing over the Understandings of Men (sometimes making her conquests with easie plainness, like native country Beauty) been very successful in the most grave, and important occasions that the necessities of States or mankinde have produc'd. For it may be said that Demosthenes sav'd the Athenians by the Fable or Parable of the Doggs and Wolves, in answer to King Philip's Proposition;³

then follows an allusion to the famous telling of the fable of the Belly and the Members by Menenius Agrippa.

Bacon no more than Sidney escapes the medieval tradition which gave to the allegoric in poetry a high value. He too seems to include fable among the kinds of poetry. In *De Augmentis Scientiarum*,⁴ 1623, he speaks of "Parabolical Poesy" as being of a higher character than either Narrative or Dramatic, and points out how it serves for a double use and contrary purposes, being employed both for "an enfoldment," and for "illustration." "In the latter case," he remarks, "the object is a certain method of teaching, in the former an artifice for concealment." As a method of teaching, "Parabolical Poesy" was useful in bringing ideas "nearer to the sense" by a "kind of resemblances and examples." "And hence," he continues, "the ancient times are full of all kinds of fables, parables, enigmas, and similitudes, as may appear by the numbers of Pythagoras, the enigmas of the Sphinx, the fables of Aesop, and the like." Fables, however, are more or less obsolete, he concludes, for "Fables, as has been said elsewhere, were formerly substitutes and supplements of examples, but now that the times abound with history, the aim is more true and active when the mark is alive."

The author of *Hudibras*, in the observations scattered through his notebooks, expresses himself much in the tone and manner of Bacon, although he conceives only one of Bacon's two functions of "Parabolical Poesy," or allegory, as we should say, namely, the illustrative. The other he denies. His comments on the nature of the fable deserve a passing notice:

³ *The Works of Sir Wm. Davenant*, London, 1673, p. 19.

⁴ Ed. Ellis and Spedding, Re-ed. J. M. Robertson, London, 1905, p. 593; see also in *Adv. of Learning*, *ibid.*, p. 88.

Men take so much Delight in lying that Truth is sometimes forced to disguise herself in the habit of False-hood to get entertainment as in Fables and Apologues frequently used by the Ancients, and in this she is not at all unjust, for Falshood do's very commonly usurp her Person.⁵

This passage, which in a rather contradictory way seems to admit a kind of "Enfoldment," after all, as a function of allegory, hits at the essential nature of the fable, indicating it as a device to give common-place truth an attractive appearance of novelty. For the most part, however, Butler has use for allegory only when it serves to convey some unfamiliar or little-obvious truth. But the high value he places on fables he expresses thus:

The easiest way to understand Truth is by Fables and Apologues that have nothing at all of Truth in them. For Truth ha's little or nothing to do in the Affayres of the World, although all things of the Greatest weight and moment are managed in her Name, like a weake Princesse, that has the Title only, and Pretence and Falsehood all the Power.

Sidney emphasized the power of the fable to influence men's conduct through an appeal to their imaginations; Bacon, although still in a way identifying fable and poesy, emphasizes the value of fable as a means of illuminating the understanding; Butler sees in the fable a means of utilizing for good man's natural depravity. If Butler had been speaking of the fable even more distinctly as a poetic form, this idea of its falsity would have been in complete agreement with the renaissance and medieval idea that poetry was an agreeable form of lying. These two ideas, that the end of poetry was moral instruction⁶ and that poetry was essentially false,⁷ old as the days preceding Aristotle, surviving to the age of English Anne, did something to put the fable theoretically in prominent place among poetic forms in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Add to these the confusion arising from the two separate meanings bound up in the very word "fable," and we have a situation which distorts and confuses values most notably. The word

⁵ *Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 282, 401, 397, 478. See also p. 443.

⁶ *Literary Criticism*, Spingarn, N. Y., 1899, 7 ff., 19 ff., 270; *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, Butcher, London, 1907, 215 ff., 238-239.

⁷ Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

"fable" today, of course, means both a distinct form of allegory, and also plot or argument. Formerly no sharp distinction was made between these two meanings. Even in Aristotle's day the same word was used for both ideas, namely *μῦθος*, although for the Aesopic tale *αἶνος* and *γέλοιος* were also used. The Latin word "*fabula*" continued the confusion.

The common association of the two concepts with the word "fable" appears in Dryden's "Remarks on the Empress of Morocco:"⁸ "If," he writes, "they [i. e. dramatists] invent impossible fables, like some of Aesop's, they ought to have such morals couched under them, as may tend to the instruction of mankind, or the regulation of manners, or they can be of no use; nor can they really delight any but such as would be pleased with Tom Thumb, without these circumstances." Dryden is here merely saying that if dramatists' plots are as lacking in probability as Aesop's fables, to have any merit at all, they should at least be as useful as those fables. Dryden is not identifying the two ideas.

In Blackmore and Dennis, however, we get a complete identification of the two meanings of the word, and also an insistence upon the moral end of poetry. In the Preface to *Prince Arthur*, 1695, Sir Richard Blackmore shows how completely "Universal" and "Allegoric," "Fable" and "Plot" were identified:

An Epick Poem is a feign'd or devis'd Story of an Illustrious Action, related in Verse, in a *Allegorical*, Probable, Delightful and Admirable manner, to cultivate the Mind with instructions of Vertue. 'Tis a feign'd or devis'd Discourse; that is, a *Fable*; and so it agrees with Tragedy and Comedy. The word Fable at first signified indifferently a true or false story, therefore Cicero for distinction used *Fictas Fabulas* in his Book *de Finibus*. But afterwards Custom obtain'd to use the word always for a feign'd Discourse. And in the first Ages, especially in the Eastern World, great use was made by Learned and Wise Men of these feign'd Discourses, Fables or Apologues, to teach the ruder and more unpolish'd Part of Mankind. . . . So Thales, Orpheus, Solon, Homer, and the rest of the great Men in those ages have done, and the famous Philosopher Socrates is by some affirm'd to be the Author of many of the Fables that pass under Aesop's name.

Confusion is apparent when Blackmore finds it necessary to dilate on Aesopic fable in a discussion of the argument of an

⁸ *Works*, ed. Walter Scott, London, 1808, xv, 412.

epic or the plot of a tragedy. The deep gulf fixed today between the two sorts of narrative, the one allegoric, and the other typical or universal, did not exist.

And John Dennis, who did not feel that Blackmore had laid sufficient stress upon the didactic in the epic, comes out flatly in his rejoinder, "On the Moral and Conclusion of an Epick Poem:"

Now I know no difference that there is, between one of Aesop's Fables, and the Fable of an Epick Poem, as to their Natures, tho' there be many and great ones, as to their circumstances (i. e. incidents to be treated, setting, style, etc.). 'Tis impossible for a Poet to form any Fable, unless the Moral be first in his Head.⁹

Other criticism of the type appeared in the eighteenth century periodicals, and still other in the prefaces and miscellaneous writings of the eighteenth century indicating a reaction against the excessive popularity of the form, but this survey will be sufficient to show the process by which the fable came to occupy a rather important position in the criticism of the seventeenth century, and by a species of annexation, to figure beside the epic and the tragedy. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Swiss critics, Bodmer and Breitinger,¹⁰ following out lines of thought not dissimilar, with their insistence on the marvelous in poetry (falsity), and its moral aim, arrived by strictly logical processes at the conclusion that among poetic kinds, the first place should be accorded to—the Fable. Goethe laughed.¹¹

It appears, then, that even before the revival of the rimed fable in England, and during the period of the prose Aesop, there were voices asserting the poetic rank of the fable, at least by implication; but although these were notable, they found influence in this regard, which indeed was but incidental with them, only in the following century, Sidney with Davenant, and Bacon with Butler. The extravagance to which ideas inherent in their utterances were later pushed would have met with only contempt from them.

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⁹ *Original Letters*, London, 1721, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Kritische Dichtkunst*, 1740. The chapter on which Goethe comments is by Bodmer, not Breitinger. *J. J. Bodmer Denkschrift*, Theo. Vetter, Hans Bodmer, Hermann Bodmer, Zürich, 1900, p. 23. Also *J. J. Breitinger Sein Leben u. seine Litterarische Bedeutung*, Hermann Bodmer, Zürich, 1897, I, 74.

¹¹ *The Autobiography of Goethe*, trans. J. Oxenford, N. Y., 1895, I, 218.

PASTORAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The custom has been to regard Salomon Gessner as a strong inspirer of pastoral in the eighteenth century, especially in France. At the same time a certain humanitarian attitude toward animals and children discernible in his idyls is asserted¹ to have influenced English writers from Cowper to Wordsworth and Coleridge, and the problem of a sinner as presented in *Der Tod Abels*, which was translated into English as early as 1761, undoubtedly affected both Wordsworth and Coleridge. On the other hand the revival of a freer, less pseudo-classical interest in Shakespeare during the century and the poetry of Burns exercised similar influences on the substance of English literature. As to the effect of Gessner on German literature the accounts vary in their ascription of importance to it.

In regard to the development of German pastoral from Gessner on, additions are needed to Mr. H. E. Mantz's *Non-Dramatic Pastoral in Europe in the Eighteenth Century*.² The Swiss painter of landscapes, Gessner,³ after reading Amyot's French translation of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, produced in prose *Die Nacht* (1753), *Daphnis* (1754), a pastoral romance, and the first series of *Idyllen* (1756), of which the last work founded his reputation firmly. These idealistic idyls are typical of most of his work, for they are smooth, agreeable, moral in treatment of characters, sensuous in selection of details to form a harmonious and beautiful view of nature at different times of year. The simple topic of *Amyntas*⁴ is the helping of a tree liable to be swept away by a torrent, and a delightful winter landscape distinguishes *Daphnis*.⁵ The purpose of the series was to describe a Golden Age, and mildly to follow Theocritus. Next came *Der Tod Abels*, a Biblical epic of a sentimental pastoral tone. This was inspired by Broekes' *Irdisches*

¹ B. Reed, "The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature," *German American Annals*, New Series, vol. III, nos. 3, 4, 5, 9, vol. IV, nos. 3, 4 (1905-6).

² *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXXI, 421-427.

³ Both the Swiss Haller and Gessner's friend Hagedorn may have influenced Gessner.

⁴ Series I, 7.

⁵ Series I, 4.

Vergnügen in Gott, and by the efforts of his Swiss friend, Bodmer, who had attempted the verse epics *Die Sündflut* (1751) and *Noah* (1752), weak patriarchal imitations after Klopstock's early cantos of the *Messias* (1748). Gessner's work, with its touch of "Anacreontic" rococo, now exerted a considerable influence, some in England, much in France.

His powers again showed a stronger sensibility than they did an appetite for homely realism in the second series of *Idyllen* (1772). The rather realistic idyl by Ewald von Kleist, *Irin* (1758), which presents a father's advice to his son and his pious thanksgiving for escape from a storm at sea, influenced Gessner even as Gessner had affected Kleist. In *Das hölzerne Bein*,⁶ Gessner displayed a degree of Wordsworthian interest in the coincidences occurring in the lives of humble people as well as sounded a note of Swiss battles for freedom. Moreover, in a use of light and shade not unlike work of the painter, N. Poussin, whom Gessner much admired, he developed a sharp yet agreeable contrast in mood between the tempest in the first part of *Der Sturm*⁷ and the final pious disposition of the treasure saved from the shipwreck. *Der Sturm* may well have suggested to Stolberg the partly Ossianic poem *Hellebek* (1776) and to St. Pierre, the friend of Rousseau who approved Gessner, effective devices for *Paul et Virginie*.

The slight tendency to realism which arose from Gessner's⁸ simpler manner in prose and his depicting of nature, together with other forces such as Thomson's *Seasons*, Kleist's *Frühling*, Gray's *Elegy*, and Goldsmith's writings, encouraged the natural temper of the Göttinger Dichterbund to a treatment in verse of life rural, if not strict pastoral. Further inspiration to the same result came from Friedrich ("Maler") Müller, whose earlier painting inclined to shepherdry and Netherlandish tastes and some of whose idyls, e. g., *Die Schafschur* (1775), treated peasants with realism. In this work, Walter declares in regard to certain literary treatment of shepherds: "das . . . was uns alle Tage vor Augen kommt und ans Herz geht, davon pipfen sie kein Wort." But the Bund had already produced genuinely realistic idyls of rural folk and con-

⁶ Series II, 22.

⁷ Series II, 20.

⁸ In the introduction to *Gessner's Werke* by A. Frey, vol. XLI, Deut. Nat. Lit., is an interesting array of Goethe's, Herder's, Gervinus' and Schiller's opinions on Gessner and on the pastoral.

tinued to do so after the departure of Müller to Italy. Instances are J. M. Miller's *Klagelied eines Bauren* and *Fritzchens Lob des Landlebens* (1772), with its homely longings and reminiscences; Hölty's *Das Feuer im Walde* (1772) and the "Schnitteridylle," *Christel und Hannchen* (1774) with its simple references to the pastoral life of Rachel and a moonlight evening, a poem in its manner looking forward to "The Gleaners" of Millet and "The Song of the Lark" of Breton. A little later were M. Claudius' *Morgenlied eines Bauermanns* (1777), *Abendlied eines Bauermanns* (1778), and the good humored *Ein Lied hinterm Ofen zu singen* (1783), rural songs with touches recalling some of Burns's; and Voss's idyls in Low German and especially *Luise*⁹ (1782-84 for its first appearance in three parts), with a Homeric atmosphere. *Luise* paved the way for Goethe's epic pastoral *Hermann und Dorothea* (1798), which has a perfect and delightful variety of sincere mood and natural character, and sounds in the distance the din of French wars after the Terror. In 1803 appeared what Goethe praised highly, Hebel's *Alemannische Gedichte*. Nearly all of the realistic poems since the idealistic idyls of Gessner treated not the life of shepherds, but that of peasants in the country, for the opportunity for genuine portrayal of the latter was much greater. None of them is a pastoral in the narrowest sense of the word, and there is but one except Goethe's that is closely in the spirit of the Old Testament pastoral, the second of Hölty's mentioned above.

A similar realistic development took place in England with a certain influence on the German writers in the seventies. Whether the later German development of Voss and Goethe exerted a return influence on the height of realistic poetry in England in the person of Wordsworth cannot be determined from evidence available at present.

All that can be said is that there is a possibility. In the autumn of 1798 Wordsworth and Coleridge went to Germany to acquire the German language. What Wordsworth accomplished before his return to England in the spring of 1799, and how far he continued the reading of German up to 1800 is not evident from ac-

⁹ Cf. *The Cotter's Saturday Night* and its model.

¹⁰ Cf. for references to war Gessner's idyl mentioned above and Collins' fourth *Oriental Eclogue*.

counts or letters now published. His sister Dorothy, who accompanied him wrote from Goslar:

"Coleridge is very happily situated at Ratzeburg for learning the language. We are not fortunately situated here, with respect to the attainment of our main object, a knowledge of the language. We have, indeed, gone on improving in that respect, but not so expeditiously as we might have done, for there is no society at Goslar. . . . So we content ourselves with talking to the people of the house, &c., and reading German. William is very industrious."¹¹

On the other hand we have two letters¹² from Coleridge to Wordsworth, in which he discusses the limitations of German hexameters. His translation of Stolberg's *Hymne an die Erde*¹³ and of Schiller's self-defining hexameters¹⁴ indicate part of his reading in this meter. Among other examples he could have read at the time were *Hermann und Dorothea*, Voss's idyls and his remarkable translation of Homer, idyls by Stolberg including *Hellebek*, Hölty's *Christel und Hannchen*, and Klopstock's *Messias*. It is not unlikely that Coleridge read some of Voss's and Goethe's hexameters. If he did so and discussed them by letter with Wordsworth, it is possible that Wordsworth also read hexameters for part of his training.

He would consider it unnecessary to acknowledge a debt to the Germans for their realistic encouragement, since a marked English tendency in the latter part of the eighteenth century led obviously in the same direction. He had, moreover, done work of the sort in *Simon Lee* and *The Cumberland Beggar*.¹⁵ But the realistic eclogue treating an English shepherd remained to do in the *Michael* of 1800.¹⁶

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¹¹ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. Wm. Knight, Boston and London, 1907, I, pp. 119-20.

¹² Chr. Wordsworth, *Memoirs of William Wordsworth*, London, 1851, I, 140 ff.

¹³ *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Shedd, N. Y., 1854, VII, pp. 277-9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 332.

¹⁵ *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798.

¹⁶ This point, together with some suggestions as to the continuation of pastoral in the nineteenth century, I intend to treat elsewhere.

LEMAÎTRE'S *BERTRADE*

It is generally conceded that Jules Lemaître is first and foremost a critic and that his creative work is accomplished by virtue of his fine and acute critical perception. On the other hand the critical sense may produce one result while with the same theme the creative power may arrive at another result totally different from the first. As a concrete instance, one may suggest a possible genesis for Lemaître's *Bertrade*, produced in November, 1905.

About a year after the *Théâtre Libre* had begun its career, Lemaître reviewed¹ one of its productions, *Rolande*, by Louis de Gramont. The situation of the play is briefly this,—*Rolande* promises her dying mother to protect her young brother, guard the honor of the family, and save, or at least watch over her father in his immoral career. After a summary of the action, crass as it is and full of the garishness of license newly acquired, the critic expresses his verdict,—“le vrai sujet de ce drame est évidemment la lutte du père et de la fille.”² He regrets the long absence of *Rolande* from the stage, while the father's downward career is being pictured in detail, for her character in its energy and strength of purpose merits a more conspicuous place. In order to give point to “cette lutte singulière et vraiment tragique”² between father and daughter, Lemaître desires other encounters between the two, although, as he says, “de les motiver et d'en graduer les effets, c'était l'affaire de l'auteur, et je ne dis point que ce fût facile.”² He wishes to see *Rolande* in various states of mind, “parmi des doutes et des déchirements de conscience, passer, par piété filiale, de la fermeté résignée du commencement à l'indignation désespérée et à la sainte impiété de la fin.”³ Her father, Montmorin, should undergo a revulsion of feeling, “un suprême réveil de tendresse humble et repentante, et que, avant de retourner à sa fange pour jamais, il eût ce mouvement, de se réfugier auprès de cet ange et de se mettre lui-même sous sa garde. Que sais-je, moi?”⁴ But Montmorin is a pathological case and incurable. He would not, therefore, have shot himself, even with the police at the door, but

¹ *Impressions de Théâtre*, iv, pp. 321-331.

² *Ib.*, p. 325.

³ *Ib.*, p. 325.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 326.

would have wept and trembled and implored Rolande not to do him harm. It is Rolande who should kill him as the police enter. "Et je vous assure," Lemaître continues, "qu'en insistant davantage sur le caractère de la jeune fille, en nous découvrant plus à fond ses sentiments et ses souffrances, on nous eût fait accepter ce parricide. Ne le croyez-vous pas?"⁵ His idea would have created in Rolande an heroic figure with a father who has ceased to be accountable for his acts, in whom the power of will is atrophied. We have then so far a poorly planned play, possessing however a fundamental situation of which Lemaître sees the possibilities of development. He presents in *Bertrade* a situation essentially the same.

Bertrade de Mauferland has been sent to a convent for her education and then to the secluded provincial home of an aunt, while her father, freed from responsibility towards her, has pursued his riotous career of piling debt upon debt. Thus the very contrast between their modes of living presages a struggle between them, if ever a situation makes one dependent on the other. Bertrade's fortune from her mother has long ago been swallowed up, leaving as its only trace the quick suspicion in the mind of the Marquis that his daughter on that account feels a bitterness towards him. This bitterness does not, however, exist, for she hopes to marry a distant cousin, not rich, but a genuine worker, to whom the lack of a dowry is of no importance. The first favor she has ever desired from her father is now at hand,—that he should agree to their marriage.

At the same time, however, de Mauferland realizes from his lawyer, who has always obtained money for him by some means or other, that the outermost limit has been reached and that the only possible solution lies in a wealthy marriage for Bertrade. A friend of his, Chaillard, whose fortune has been gained by questionable means, now offers himself as a suitor, proposing conditions very advantageous to the Marquis. Such a marriage to retrieve the fallen fortunes of a noble family is by no means uncommon in life or in literature. Bertrade is, however, not of the type to which it would be possible. In Gramont's play, Rolande also has a lover, whom she sends away, for she considers her duty of watching over her father more important than her personal happiness.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 327.

Bertrade, on the other hand, refuses to save her father by an unworthy marriage and requests his consent to a just one.

When matters have thus reached an *impasse* between the two, a second solution presents itself. A woman who has had a place in de Maufferrand's early youth appears, now secure before the world as the widow of an Austrian baron, whose fortune she has doubled by her keen practical mind. What she now desires is social prominence. She already possesses the chief mortgages on the property of the Marquis and duplicates Chaillard's offers. In return, the price is not Bertrade, but the Marquis himself. His refusal at hearing the offer is as instantaneous and absolute as his daughter's had been.

After some weeks, when the Marquis has had time to realize his desperate situation, he is seriously considering the Baroness as a refuge. A rumor of this has been conveyed to Bertrade, who now finds her father with both marriage contracts before him, awaiting the signature of one or the other. Up to this point, father and daughter have been opponents and practically strangers in spite of their bond of blood. The encounters between the two, which Lemaître desired to see in Gramont's play, he has indeed portrayed, but he has marked them by obstinacy on each side, rather than by affection or emotion. Therefore this final scene must be something more than a fresh contest of wills. It must have an emotional power arising from the fact that they are, after all, father and daughter, in whose lives natural affection has been reduced to an unnatural minimum. Like the earlier drama, *Bertrade* has a final scene where the police, figuratively speaking, is before the door, bringing disgrace and dishonor to the head of a proud family. In both cases it is the daughter who arouses in the father his better nature, who saves him his self-respect and the honor of his name. With this re-awakening of de Maufferrand's comes a recognition of his daughter's worth and a glimpse of what his life might have been, had he lived with her from childhood,—“tu représentais en dehors de moi le meilleur de mon sang.” But it is too late. He cannot accept her proposal that he live a quiet life with her after her marriage to Hubert and see his mountainous debts paid off gradually, but she has shown him another way better than the disgraceful bargain with the Baroness. He promises not to sign the marriage contract, and with a kiss of genuine feeling,

he sends her away without having aroused her suspicions. Alone, he brings out a pistol with a jesting remark that the Baroness had never dreamed of such a rival. A laconic message to Bertrade is written,—“Epouse Hubert et priez pour moi.” He then ends his career with the same sang-froid with which he has lived.

In the interim between the criticism of *Rolande* and the writing of *Bertrade*, Lemaître produced several plays. How has he utilized his former ideas and what remains of them? His chief interest in Gramont's play lay in *Rolande*, whom he desired to see raised to such a plane of action that a deed of parricide would be conceivable. Nothing in Lemaître's dramas before 1905 hints at an attempt or an ability to portray an epic figure of those proportions. His characters are cast rather in an everyday mould, the sentiments and motives of which he enables us to read to the last nuance. Bertrade then, though still the center of interest as the title indicates, has become a young woman whose pride in her ancestry is coupled with ideals induced by living among those whose gospel is uprightness and work. She intends to save her father from dishonor to himself and their name, but in so doing, and entirely unwittingly, she forces him to suicide. If his resolution to die is due to her appeal to his honor, it must be that he sees death as a refuge from something cowardly and ignoble. The decision thus lies with him and he has the strength to choose the better course. He is therefore far from being a pathological case like *Rolande's* father, and is likewise far from the sentimental transitory penitence suggested by Lemaître's criticism. He is a consistent, care-free pleasure-seeker and therefore a spender, who at the very end catches a glimpse, through his daughter's eyes, of another kind of life. He has now reached the ultimatum and accepts it coolly. The father and daughter in Lemaître's drama have therefore nothing in common with the other two, except the idea of their opposition, ending in suicide. The plot indeed has some resemblance to Gramont's and to Lemaître's ideas of its possibilities in 1888, but ceasing to act as a critic, Lemaître has created two totally different characters and with them has grown a new play.

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A FORERUNNER OF MILTON

A careful reading of two significant passages of *Paradise Lost* warrants the assumption that Milton was one of the progressive thinkers who accepted the Copernican theory. Lord Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning* had dismissed it as untenable, and Milton's friends, the Smeectymnuans, in 1641 had called it absurd. Other reasons, however, impelled Milton to base his epic on the old-established Ptolemaic system. About it were gathered the rich imaginative associations that the poet needs, while the rival theory was still a debated question in the schools. Nevertheless, it seems certain that Milton's scientific studies at Cambridge and Horton had convinced him of the truth of Copernicus' teaching, and that he gave it as unguarded approval as was possible in a poem that, for poetic reasons, rests on another philosophical belief.¹ ?

A much more positive argument for the Copernican theory is found in Henry More's *Psychathanasia*, published at Cambridge in 1642 and reprinted in 1647.² The author entered Christ's College in 1631; shortly before Milton left it. More's tutor there was William Chappell, who had served as Milton's tutor before his rustication. More also contributed a short poem in Greek to the memorial for Edward King, in which *Lycidas* first appeared. These facts at once arrest attention. But More remained in close touch with the university throughout his life, and, with his fellow Platonists, followed the advance of scientific investigation more closely than Milton, disgusted as he was with academic methods, cared to do. In the *Psychathanasia*, then, he appeared as the outspoken and somewhat discursive champion of the new astronomical theories. Twenty-five years later Milton, substituting suggestion for argument, took virtually the same position that his predecessor had held.

More's case against the "stiff-standers for ag'd Ptolemee" presents a strange combination of Platonic mysticism and rational science. His first argument is "theosophical." The neo-Platonists assumed the existence of a potent spiritual force as the moving principle of the universe. More calls this force, in Plato's language,

¹ *P. L.*, 4, 592-597; 8, 15-178.

² Book 3, canto 3.

"that bright Idee of steddie Good," and, in Christian terminology, "that eternall light which we call God." About it, he asserts, "all things in distinct circumference move." But this central force of the universe is the archetype of the sun in the solar system, and about the sun, therefore, the planets must revolve;

So doth the Earth one of the erring Seven
Wheel round the fixèd sunne, that is the shade
Of steddie Good, shining in this Out-heaven.

Such mystical reasoning would be convincing only to an early Platonist, and the angel Raphael in *Paradise Lost*, in speaking of the earth as one of the seven revolving planets, wisely says nothing of it.

Having thus "fairly prov'd the sunnes stability," More has next to demonstrate the revolution of the earth on its axis, by which he would explain the succession of day and night. His opponents judged him mad for so seeming

to shake the stable earth,
Whirling her round with turns prodigious.

If the earth should spin so rapidly, they argued, objects would hurtle from its surface into space, trees would whistle in the wind as they rush madly on, and beasts, hiding in terror, would be brained in their caves. Furthermore, clouds could rise only in the east, and an arrow shot skyward could not fall at the bowman's feet. All these objections might have been refuted from Galileo's experiments on falling bodies, which had proved the force of gravitation. Strange as it may seem, however, in so progressive a thinker, More flatly rejected the theory of gravitation.

What they pretend of the Earths gravity,
Is nought but a long taken up conceit:
A stone that downward to the earth doth hy
Is not more heavie then dry straws that jet
Up to a ring, made of black shining jeat.

To account, then, for the impulsion of all objects to the earth's center, More assumes the existence of a central spirit of the earth that binds all things to it;

Gravity is nought but close to presse
Unto one Magick point, there near to enter;
Each sympathetick part doth boldly it adventure.

But this force is spiritual, not physical. The arrow, he explains, "hath one spirit with this sphere" and in the air moves eastward with it. All else is bound to the earth by the same spiritual sympathy;

So every stone on earth with one commotion
Goes round, and yet withall right stidly strives
To reach the centre.

With such reasoning More answered the objections raised against the supposition of the earth's rotation.

In the positive argument that follows this refutation, More reasons on broader principles and seemingly anticipates Milton. Adam, we remember, in conversation with Raphael, wonders that the sun and stars are forced to revolve in such measureless orbits about the tiny earth, "that better might with far less compass move." More, likewise, on the authority of Moses ben Maimun, argues that

each good Astronomer is ty'd
To lessen the heavens motions vainly multiply'd.

and that it is wrong to attribute these circuits to the sun and stars, since

The earths motion might
Save that so monstrous labour, with lesse pains,
Even infinitely lesse.

More anticipates Milton, also, in rejecting as unnecessary the whole complicated theory of cycle and epicycle, elaborated to explain the apparently irregular movements of the stars. Adam is shown by Raphael the presumption of astronomers who "build, upbuild, contrive to save appearances," and

Gird the Sphere
With Centric and Eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb.

But Milton's criticism of the ingenuity of the astronomers is less caustic than More's:

Here 'gins the wheelwork of the Epicycle:
Thus patch they Heaven more botch'dly then old cloths
This pretty sport doth make my heart to tickle
With laughter, and mine eyes with merry tears to trickle.

Both More and Milton see that the Copernican theory has rendered all this complicated figuring needless;

All this disordred superfluity
 Of Epicycles, or what else is shown
 To salve the strange absurd enormity
 Of staggering motions in the azure skie;
 Both Epicycles and those turns enorm
 Would all prove nought, if you would but let flie
 The earth in the Ecliptick line yborn.

The *Psychathanasia* presents the opposed astronomical theories more comprehensively than Milton could do in these explanatory passages of his epic. But there is nothing in Milton's explanation that was not to be found in More's poem twenty-five years earlier. One need not therefore add another item to the ever growing list of sources for *Paradise Lost*. A reading of the *Psychathanasia* simply shows that Milton was as well grounded in seventeenth-century scientific teaching as in history, literature, and philosophy. The two poems, also, taken so together, illustrate the distinction made in *Paradise Regained* between appreciative, creative scholarship and the mere acquisition of facts.

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SOURCES OF HEINE'S *SEEGESPENST*

No investigation of the sources of Heine's well-known *Seegespenst* has hitherto been undertaken. Indications point very plainly, however, to the fact that Heine's real inspiration for the main outlines as well as for a number of details of his poem was Ludwig Tieck's *Der Pokal*. (*Schriften*, Berlin, 1828, vol. 4.)

Der Pokal has for its chief motive the illusion of finding again a long-lost love, young and living as in former days. This motive is foreshadowed in the vision of the cup and amplified in the second portion of the story. In the account of the cup-vision the effect is of a subjective sort, due first to the intent gazing upon the cup and second to the magic influence of the aged Albert. In part two of the story, on the other hand, the effect produced upon Ferdinand is more in the nature of delusion, superinduced by a combination of outward circumstances turning the mind of Ferdinand to the past, particularly to the scene of the cup-vision. The

effect depicted in part two is in no small measure due to the memory of part one. The skill with which the author depicts the ever-increasing strength of the spell in part two is considerable. Ferdinand's conduct after he first sees the bride, his remarks to the bridegroom concerning her, his soliloquy that night in his chamber, his still greater perturbation and excitement the following day in the bride's presence, his complete delusion at the wedding-feast and the beginning of his later conversation with the mother of the bride—these are the steps in an ever-increasing conviction on the part of Ferdinand that he is beholding before his eyes his Franziska, young and beautiful as in former days. The story has three sub-motives: the cathedral scene, the vision of the cup and the scenes in the old house after the lapse of many years. The salient points in the first of these are (1) the people, old and young, hurrying across the market-place and to the adjoining cathedral, among them many maidens; (2) the figure of the maiden who is the heroine of the story, modest, beautiful, blue-eyed, golden-haired and clad in rustling silk; (3) the church-service with its saddening effect upon the young lover; (4) the Christian atmosphere of the whole, emphasized by the presence of the cathedral and the portrayal of the church-service, together with the church-goers and priests. In the vision of the cup we have the gazing into the depths of the goblet; the distant music with its saddening effect; the sparks dropping into the cup; the smiling vision of the maiden; the youth's passionate grasp for this vision; and lastly the breaking of the illusion, and the red rose. Very cleverly the author here makes illusion and fact merge delicately into one fabric, when he tell us how a few hours later, as Ferdinand waits for a glimpse of his sweetheart as she passes in her carriage, she leans towards him with the same wonderful smile and there drops from her bosom to his feet a red rose. In the third of the subordinate motives the leading features are, the old house, the same as in part one of the story; the young bride, the image of his lost love; the goblet and the gazing into its depths.

The chief motive of Heine's *Seegespenst* is, like that of *Der Pokal*, the illusion of the finding again of the long-lost beloved, young and living before the eyes of the lover. As in *Der Pokal* the hero sees his beloved by gazing into the "waves" of the wine within the cup and fully expects to see the vision of part one rise again, so in the *Seegespenst* it is through intent gazing into the

depths of the sea that the narrator at length beholds the vision below. There is also the same idea in both of earnest thinking on the beloved, who indeed, so deep is the love, crowds every other thought into the background in the mind of the passionate lover. In a word, the illusion is produced by the same general method in both instances. The sub-motives of the *Seegespenst* are the situation of the narrator at the beginning and the close, the city beneath the sea, the beloved in the old house, and the attempt of the narrator to become united with her again. The first of these is traceable, not to Tieck, but to E. T. A. Hoffmann, who, in his *Der goldne Topf* (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1873, vol. 7) writes: "Der Student Anselmus sass in sich gekehrt bei dem rudernden Schiffer, als er nun aber im Wasser den Widerschein der in der Luft herumsprühenden und knisternden Funken und Flammen erblickte; da war es ihm, als zögen die goldnen Schlänglein durch die Fluth. . . . So rief der Student Anselmus und machte dabei eine heftige Bewegung, als wolle er sich gleich aus der Gondel in die Fluth stürzen. 'Ist der Herr des Teufels?' rief der Schiffer und erwischte ihn beim Rockschoß." With this may be compared the parallel situation in the *Seegespenst*. The city beneath the sea is, of course, the Vineta legend, which the poet merely uses as a setting for the market-place, cathedral scene with which the rest of the poem has to do. That it is really the similar scene in *Der Pokal* which he is here following is confirmed in the first place by the fact that this Vineta is a Christian spot, with a cathedral and a host of church-goers, whereas the Vineta legend proper has to do with a city utterly pagan. The market-place of the *Seegespenst* likewise teems with people young and old, and its general description is very closely allied with that of *Der Pokal*. Golden-haired maidens, slender, clad in silk, modest in behavior, with tripping steps,—these in the poem are but reflections of the same things in the story, where, to be sure, they are applied to Franziska alone. Between this sub-motive and the next occur certain lines in the poem in which we are told that the narrator is moved by the sound of distant music and bells to a great feeling of sadness and yearning. Aside from the motivation arising from the situation itself—the melancholy circumstances under which he finds his beloved again—we find here certain distinct echoes from *Der Pokal* (Cf. p. 399). The dropping of the blood into the depths below, suggested by the words early in *Der Pokal* (p. 395) is also the direct reflec-

tion of the sparks' dropping into the cup (p. 400), for, as the drops of blood complete the union whereby the lover again beholds his beloved below, so in *Der Pokal* the dropping sparks fulfil the charm whereby the vision rises from the cup. Even the sadness is directly suggested by the words in *Der Pokal* (p. 399): "Immer stärker ward die Musik . . . dass . . . ihm die Thränen in die Augen stiegen." The beloved in the old house likewise shows unmistakable points of similarity with *Der Pokal*. The maiden sits here smiling, which seems odd enough in view of her pitiable condition; we must remember that in *Der Pokal* the image comes forth smiling from the cup (p. 400). She has also concealed herself out of childish whim, as in *Der Pokal* she has married another at hearing that her lover had married, and had lived for years in the same city, unknown to both. In the poem the maiden has been here for centuries, which is, of course, a lengthening of the decades of *Der Pokal*, in keeping with the decidedly more transcendental nature of the Vineta setting. Thus, too, she is here among strangers, unable to leave, as Franziska had so many years been among strangers, among those whom she did not love as she had loved Ferdinand. The house itself is a combination of the description of Albert's house in part one of *Der Pokal* and that of part two (pp. 397, 408 f.). The same age, size and solitude are apparent in both. The attempt of the narrator in the *Seegespensst* to become united with his beloved by plunging down with outstretched arms, whereby the spell is broken, is taken from *Der Pokal*, where Ferdinand passionately reaches for the vision (p. 401). The title of the poem itself, as well as the general Vineta setting, may very probably have been suggested by Ferdinand's own comment upon the situation at the close of *Der Pokal* (p. 415): "Es ist wie eine schauerliche Geistergeschichte, wie wir uns verloren und wieder gefunden haben," together with the gazing into the depths of the wine earlier, in the scene at the wedding-feast (p. 412).

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the leading motives and many details in *Der Pokal* have given Heine the initial suggestion for his poem, although in their use he has exhibited a truly genial poetic skill in the adaptation and nice handling of his material.

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REVIEWS

The Unmarried Mother in German Literature, with special reference to the period 1770-1800, by OSCAR HELMUTH WERNER, PH. D. New York, Columbia University Press, 1917.

The author states (page viii) that "this dissertation was undertaken primarily to find, if possible, a more satisfactory explanation than has been given hitherto for Goethe's utilization of the theme of unmarried motherhood with its consequent infanticide in his 'Faust.' . . . The investigation was not limited, therefore, to the field of belles lettres but included all literature of the period which might have a bearing on the subject." The body of the book consists of three chapters, entitled: I. Traditional Status of the Unmarried Mother; II. The Humanitarian Revolt of the Eighteenth Century; III. The Literary Reflex of the Revolt in the Storm and Stress Period. Chapter IV is devoted to Concluding Observations, which are followed by a Bibliography and an Index.

An investigation in this field cannot well be expected to bring to light many startling new facts, as the various phases of the subject have previously been touched upon by other scholars—the salient points of Chapter III, for example, by Erich Schmidt in his *Heinrich Leopold Wagner*. The merit of the book must chiefly be sought, therefore, in its orderly arrangement and amplification of the material which serves as a setting for the literature of Storm and Stress. The bulk of this material originated in the Mannheim Contest of 1781, when von Dalberg offered a prize of 100 ducats for the best essay on the prevention of infanticide. Some four hundred contributions were received, and for a number of years subsequently numerous other essays on the subject were written and published, together with criticisms of them. In addition to these reviews, the contemporary journals gave accounts of the more striking cases of infanticide, statistics, and letters from travelers dealing with various aspects of the subject. It is this material which Dr. Werner has undertaken to collect and to study, and a Bibliography of twelve pages testifies to his industry. "With a few exceptions only the literature which could be had in this country is listed, therefore no claim to completeness of the list of productions on unmarried motherhood during this period is made." But

completeness is the chief virtue of all bibliographic lists. Even with the given qualification, the author's facilities seem to have been in some respects limited. First-hand use has been made of the *Deutsches Museum* and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, but the *Neue Allgemeine Bibliothek* seems to have been inaccessible, while the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, the most important critical journal of the period, is conspicuous by a single reference. An examination of the indices of these two publications would have yielded a considerable body of new material, the more important titles of which are added below:

Neue Allg. Deutsche Bibl. XII, 116: J. D. Michaelis, *Zerstreute kleine Schriften gesammelt*, 1. Lief., Jena, 1793. Contains an article entitled: "Warum hat Mose in seinem Gesetze nichts vom Kindermord? Ein Zusatz von J. D. Michaelis zu seinem mosaischen Rechte." Michaelis was one of the three judges of the Munnheim Contest. This article had previously appeared in the *Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*, Göttingen, Volume IV, 2, pp. 84-152, and was reviewed in *Schotts Bibliothek der neuesten juristischen Literatur*, 1786, I, 142.

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XIV, 407: *Briefe über die wichtigsten Gegenstände der Menschheit. Geschrieben von R. und herausgegeben von S. T. U.* 2 Theile, Leipzig, 1794. Number XIV is entitled: "Ueber das Problem: wie es anzufangen sey, dass es keine Kindermörderinnen mehr gebe. An Herrn Justizrath W. zu O."

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XIX, 36: *Freymüthige Gedanken, Wünsche und Vorschläge über den Kindermord und über die Mittel, denselben zu verhindern.* Stendal, Franz und Grosse, 1793, 78 pp. This is probably a second edition of the work listed by Werner on page 113, line 6, as the number of pages is identical.

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XXI, 447: *Neue peinliche und bürgerliche Rechtsfälle.* . . . Erster Band, Zeitz und Naumburg, 1794. No. VIII: "Geschichte einer des Kindermordes verdächtigen, mit Staupenschlägen und ewiger Landesverweisung bestraften Weibsperson."

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XXII, 78: *Themis und Comus, oder juristische Frucht- und Blumenlese, von einem Barden.* Leipzig, 1794. 234 pp. II. Stück: "Auch eine Untersuchung der Frage: Welches sind die ausführbarsten Mittel, dem Kindermorde Einhalt zu thun?"

Neue Allg. Deu. Bibl. XXXVIII, 140: *Untersuchung, ob der Verschuldung einer Kindermörderinn die Todesstrafe angemessen ist.* Von C. A. H., Leipzig, 1798. 56 pp.

The following references are to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of Jena:

1785, I, 230: *Drei Preisschriften über die Frage. . . .* Mannheim, 1784. Other reviews appeared in *Allg. Deu. Bibl.* LXIII, 81 (Werner, p. 112) and in *Allgem. juristische Bibl.* v, 1, 56.

1785, II, 6: *Nachtrag zu den Abhandlungen über die besten und ausführbarsten Mittel*, etc., Tübingen, 1785. 52 pp. Reviewed also in *Schotts Bibliothek der neuesten juristischen Litt.*, 1785, I, 15. Werner, p. 113, lists the 1782 edition, the title of which should read: . . . *über die beste ausführbarste Mittel. . . .* It also has 52 pages, and the motto: *Qui vult unum, velle etiam debet alterum.*

1786, I, 417: *Unvorgreifliche Betrachtungen über die drey zu Mannheim gekrönte Schriften von der besten ausführbaren Verhütung des Kindermords.* Dresden und Leipzig, 1785. 64 pp. Reviewed also in *Schotts Bibliothek*, 1785, II, 374; *Tübinger gelehrte Anzeigen* 1786, p. 119; *Neue Leipziger gelehrte Zeitungen* 1785, IV, 2443.

1786, I, 433: Birnstiel, F. H., *Versuch, die wahre Ursache des Kindermords aus der Natur- und Völkergeschichte zu erforschen und zugleich daraus einige Mittel zur Verhinderung dieses Staatsgebrechens zu schöpfen.* Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1785. 204 pp. Reviewed also in *Tüb. gel. Anz.* 1785, p. 746; *Neueste kritische Nachrichten*, Greifswald, 1786, p. 216; *Schotts Bibliothek* 1786, I, 167.

1788, I, 290: *Statistische und politische Bemerkungen bey Gelegenheit einer Reise durch die vereinigten Niederlande.* 1788. 121 pp. Anonymous, but written by von Barkhausen, and previously published in letter form in the *Deutsches Museum*, 1781, II, 277. The fact is brought out that from 1732 to 1788 only 79 persons had been executed in the Netherlands for infanticide, and that these all belonged to the lowest classes. The exceedingly low annual average is attributed in part to the existence of the Foundling House in Amsterdam.

1788, IV, 737: Pfeil, J. G. B., *Preisschrift von den besten. . . . Mitteln. . . .* Leipzig, 1788. Reviewed also in *Allg. D. Bibl.*

LXXXVIII, 90 (Cf. Werner, p. 114); *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1788, II, 1206; *Tüb. gel. Anz.* 1788, p. 489; Feder und Meiners, *Philosophische Bibl.* II, 232; *Schotts Bibl.* 1788, p. 49.

1793, I, 293: *Der Kindermord. Zur Beherzigung an alle meine Mitmenschen.* Rostock und Leipzig, 1792, 216 pp. Reviewed also in *Neue Allg. D. Bibl.* VIII, 40; *Tüb. gel. Anz.* 1793, p. 337.

J. G. Schlosser's well-known essay, *Die Wudbianer*, discussed by Werner at various places, was reviewed in the *Tüb. gel. Anz.* 1786, p. 718; *Allg. Deu. Bibl.* LXVII, 91; *Allgem. jurist. Bibl.* VI, 1, 29. It also had the distinction of being translated into Danish: *Wudbianerne, et Priisskrift af J. G. Schlosser.* Kopenhagen, 1789. Cf. *Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1789, *Intelligenzblatt* No. 132, p. 1096.

Various other journals likewise contain articles and reviews bearing on our subject:

Journal von und für Deutschland, 1786, I, 231: "Geschichte einer Kindsmörderin in der Reichsstadt Speyer." This article, written by a citizen of Speyer named Weiss, begins as follows: "Blutschänder, Mordbrenner und Mörder zugleich, den Gesetzen nach, und doch ein Jüngling von edler Seele seyn, ist, seitdem uns der vortreffliche Meissner, ihn in seinen Skizzen nicht idealisirt, sondern dem Faden der wirklichen Geschichte pünctlich getreu, so unnachahmbar schön geschildert hat, nicht mehr Erdichtung kranker Empfindeley, ist historische Wahrheit." Weiss then proceeds to tell the story of an infanticide, as a parallel to Meissner, the first volume of whose *Skizzen* had appeared in Leipzig, 1778. The last story but one in this collection has for its title the opening words of the above article, and is said to be based on an actual event in Brandenburg. A detailed review of Meissner's book may be found in Part II of the *Anhang* to Vols. 25-36 of the *Allg. Deu. Bibl.*, p. 718 ff.

In the *Journal von und für Deutschland*, 1786, II, 53, there is another "Beytrag zur Geschichte des Kindermordes, nebst der Liste der Gebornen und Gestorbenen in den Mecklenburg Schwerinischen Stadtpfarreyen." This is anonymous. The same journal, 1785, I, 500, gives a tabulation of the illegitimate children born in the various provinces of Prussia during the years 1783 and 1784, the headings of the columns being Male, Female, Town, Country. The totals are 7221 for the year 1783 and 9064 for 1784.

Posselts wissenschaftliches Magazin für Aufklärung, I, 39, has

an article entitled: "Kann die Todesstrafe auf den Kindermord ohne Verletzung der göttlichen Gesetze abgeschafft werden, und ist es rathsam, dieses zu thun oder nicht?" In Vol. III of the same magazine, pp. 129 and 240, are two other contributions: "Ueber die besten und ausführbarsten Mittel, den Kindermord zu verhüten." A similar one is found in *Amalthea für Wissenschaft und Geschmack*, II. Band, Erstes Stück. In the *Braunschweigisches Journal* for 1789, 2. Stück, is an article by S. Heinecke: "Ueber die besten Mittel, dem Kindermorde zu wehren, und zugleich die Sittlichkeit unter der gemeinen Volksklasse zu vermehren." Similarly, the *Magazin für gemeinnützige, interessante und unterhaltende Lectüre* for 1785, I. Theil, has an article "Vom Kindermord," which is reviewed in *Schotts Bibliothek*, 1786, II, 412. In the *Deutsches gemeinnütziges Magazin*, 1787, I. Jahrg., 1. Quartal, there is a "Geschichte eines Kindermords, nebst einigen allgemeinen Betrachtungen über diese Handlung, und deren Bestrafung," by Ch. U. Dtl. v. Eggers, the editor.

The journals just cited are all of a more or less popular character: at the opposite extreme is a Latin inaugural dissertation on this subject: *D. i. de Infanticidio a matribus in recens natos infantes commisso et quibusdam eius impediendi remediis, quam praes. J. Ph. Buchero prop. aut. Gli. Dn. Claver. Rinteln, 1785, 38 pp. 4°*. This was reviewed in *Schotts Bibliothek* 1786, II, 240 and in *Klübers kleine jurist. Bibl.* II, 5, 65.

In conclusion, I would call attention to Eschenburg's¹ review (in Part II, pp. 764 f., of the *Anhang* to Vols. 25-36 of the *Allgem. Deutsche Bibliothek*) of Wagner's *Kindermörderinn*, Leipzig, 1776, which Erich Schmidt, in his discussion of the contemporary opinion of this play, likewise failed to note. Eschenburg does not see how the first act could possibly be represented on the stage, and presumes that the author had hardly hoped to see his play acted, but had intended to present a series of tableaux portraying the dangers of luxury to the middle class, and the terrible consequences of a mother's carelessness or thoughtlessness.

"Und aus diesem Gesichtspunkte betrachtet, muss man dem

¹ The review is signed *Mo*. As this sign is ascribed to Eschenburg in the case of an almost simultaneous review in Vol. XXXIII, pp. 496-498, of the *Allg. Deu. Bibl.* (Cf. Meyer, *Goethe-Bibliothek*, No. 187), his authorship of the present review is hardly open to question.

Verf. allerdings sehr viel Verdienst zugestehen, sehr viel Talent in der treuen Nachahmung der Natur, in Handlung, Gesinnung und Sprache der theilnehmenden Personen. Freylich sind die Farben oft zu stark aufgetragen; die Züge oft zu kühn, und, wir möchten fast sagen, gar zu natürlich; aber man schätzt in der Malerey auch den Ostadischen Geschmack."

Karl Lessing's adaptation: *Die Kindermörderinn, so wie sie abgeändert auf dem deutschen Theater zu Berlin im Jenner 1777. aufgeführt worden ist. Berlin, bey Himborg*, is declared a failure:

"Der Umänderer hätte gar wohl voraus sehen können, dass es ein missliches, fruchtloses Unternehmen sey, so ganz heterogene Dinge mit einander vertauschen, eins in das andere umschmelzen wollen. Gerade so sonderbar, als wenn man ein Niederländisches Gemälde in ein Italiänisches umzuzeichnen und umzukoloriren versuchen wollte. Die besten, originellsten Züge werden dabey verwischt; alles Eigenthümliche verschwindet; und man weiss am Ende nicht mehr, was für ein Zwitterwerk man vor sich hat. Ganz ist diess zwar der Fall bey dieser Umänderung nicht: denn sie ist nicht ohne Schonung gemacht, und sehr vieles ist ganz unverändert beybehalten; aber das Weggelassene ist nicht allemal das Schlechtere, und noch seltener das, was dafür in die Stelle gesetzt ist, das Bessere. Und im Grunde ist viel stehen geblieben, wodurch die Aufführung verhindert werden musste."

W. KURRELMAYER.

Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans, by EDWIN MILLER FOGEL, PH. D. Philadelphia, Americana Germanica Press, 1915. iv + 387 pp.

Philologists have long since recognized that the dialect of the German settlers of Pennsylvania, far from being unworthy of consideration as the bastard jargon of an uncultured population, well repays careful study as containing many dialectical forms which have disappeared in Germany. The first monograph on the dialect was that of Professor Haldemann of the University of Pennsylvania, read as a paper before the Philological Society of London and subsequently (1872) printed in Philadelphia. Since then many articles and papers on Pennsylvania German have appeared, the more important of which are the handbooks of Rauch (Philadelphia, 1880) and Gibbons (New York, 1882); M. D. Learned, *The Pennsylvania German Dialect*, Baltimore, 1886; H. H. Reich-

ard, *Pennsylvania German Dialect Literature*, Johns Hopkins University Dissertation, 1911 (not yet in print). Thru the efforts of the late Professor Learned the Pennsylvania German Society was founded in 1891 and the volumes of its *Proceedings* contain much valuable information.

Several collections of Pennsylvania German superstitions have appeared in the last few years,¹ but they are all fragmentary when compared with the present volume, which comprises over two thousand and popular sayings. The items are printed in a phonetic notation devised by the author himself. His reasons for adding another system to the many already in existence are threefold: there is no uniform German system and the systems of Viëtor, Passy, Heilig and Langenscheidt he avoids because the volume is to be freely used by non-phonetically trained persons; and, finally, the English and American systems were impracticable in the case of a German dialect.

To the items in the dialect are added English translations and parallels from German folklore, particularly that of the upper Rhine, the Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg and the Alsace; wherever possible, cognate superstitions current in the English counties are given. Professor Fogel points out that only about 100 of the total number are purely British, 269 are common to Great Britain and Germany, 1,400 have German correlatives and the remainder, about 20 per cent., seem to be of Pennsylvania German origin. The author attributes this preponderance of German correlatives over the British to a less thoro collection of British superstitions; but it is hardly fair to lay the blame entirely at the door of English folklorists, for it is not to be assumed *a priori* that England and Germany must have all their superstitions in common.

One cannot repress the thought that the book might have been more serviceable if an index had been added. Classification by topics does not entirely supply this want, especially since a number of the groups overlap. Thus it is not quite clear why a distinction should have been made between "Omens and Wishes" and "Luck and Omens of Luck," since the latter is merely a subdivision of the former. So we have No. 326 as a special case of

¹ See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, I, 125; IV, 321; V, 176 and the literature cited by Fogel on p. 5.

the more general Nos. 474 and 481, which declare the breaking of a mirror to be an ill omen. Some omens are interpreted in various ways, as for example, the meeting of a spider in the morning, which is asserted to be an ill omen according to No. 289, indifferent according to No. 288, and a good omen according to No. 446. Nor do these differences of opinion always correspond to different localities, since the last three are all found together in Lancaster County. Again, some of the dream omens might have been listed with the "Omens of Death" (Nos. 258, 261, 269, 270, 271, etc.). A certain amount of overlapping of the groups is, of course, unavoidable, but a system of cross-references, if kept within bounds, would have done much to weld the disjointed items into an organic whole.

Further, superstitions of similar intent might have been better grouped within the compass of the sections; for example, Nos. 40, 43 and 99 belong together; similarly, 92-94 and 105; 79 and 130; 219 and 238; 401, 443 and 462-464. Likewise some repetitions have crept in: No. 65 is word for word like No. 151 and other duplicating pairs are: 162 and 170; 332 and 387; 367 and 395, 304 and 390; 934 and 941.

One wonders if it were possible to determine from the language whether a superstition is borrowed from Anglo-Saxon tradition or is part of the original stock brought by the settlers from Germany. As a matter of fact, undoubtedly old proverbs contain many English words: No. 135, *grik* (creek); No. 141, *hēl* (veil); Nos. 174 and 175, *bō* (beau); No. 183, *hands schēken*; No. 245, *tschumpe* (jump); No. 303, *disappoint* (disappointed). Others apparently Anglo-Saxon appear only in pure dialect as Nos. 291 to 294. An adaptation of old proverbs and sayings to the new surroundings has also taken place and it would seem therefore to be almost impossible to separate the new from the old on the basis of language alone. So in No. 561 the owl of the Suabian folklore has been replaced by the whippoorwill.

The energies of the collectors of folklore in this country have until now been largely devoted to the assembling of a mass of Indian legends and negro superstitions with a consequent neglect of the folklore current among the whites. It is perhaps too much to expect that material will be collected which has not also survived in the European homes of our white settlers, but much benefit can be derived by completing the collections already made with con-

tributions from the States. The work of Professor Fogel is a valuable addition of most carefully selected and thoroly sifted material which cannot fail to be of great assistance to the student of folklore, for the time is here when we must not be content with merely accumulating, but must turn to the task of analyzing and interpreting the huge harvest of popular mythology and superstition which has been garnered in the past century.

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The Contemporary Drama of Ireland. By ERNEST A. BOYD.
Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1917. Pp. viii + 225.

Mr. Ernest A. Boyd has prepared for the Contemporary Drama Series, under the general editorship of Professor Richard Burton, a volume on the Irish Drama, uniform with the work recently published by Professor Thomas H. Dickinson, *The Contemporary Drama of England*. Mr. Boyd was more fortunate than Professor Dickinson in having a single, well-defined dramatic movement as the theme of his little book—a theme covering a shorter period and with less manifest affiliation with the preceding corpus of dramatic composition. He traces the development of the drama in Ireland from the founding of the Irish Literary Theatre in 1899 to the present time. Professor Dickinson had the less pleasant task of calling to our attention sundry artistic crimes that alleged English playwrights had committed in the name of drama during the earlier years of the Victorian age.

Mr. Boyd's opening chapters, outlining the first efforts of Edward Martyn, George Moore, and William Butler Yeats, are followed by a well-digested account of the Irish National Theatre and a fairly detailed summary of Mr. Yeats' poetic contributions to the movement. The plays of John M. Synge and of Padraic Colum are adequately treated in a chapter entitled "The Impulse to Folk Drama." In a chapter on "Peasant Comedy" is a review of the plays of Lady Gregory and William Boyle, while all the remaining writers are more summarily treated as "Later Playwrights" or in the following chapter on the Ulster Literary Theatre. It may be questioned whether George Fitzmaurice deserves

as much attention as Mr. Boyd gives him, or whether, on the other hand, T. C. Murray and Norreys Connell should be dismissed with a few lines. Connell, in fact, is not even mentioned in the extensive bibliography appended to the book and only two of his plays are named in the text.

Although Mr. Boyd has evidently taken pains with his bibliography, there are several slips and omissions that should be noted. On p. 60 we are told that Yeats revised *The Land of Heart's Desire* in 1912; on the opposite page that the revised version was produced in 1911, which is correct, as the revival occurred at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on February 16, 1911. There is apparently no reference whatever in text or bibliography to William Boyle's *The Love Charm*, produced at the Abbey Theatre, September 4, 1911, nor to his recent play, *Nic*, played at the same theatre on October 25, 1916. Lord Dunsany's *The Gods of the Mountain* is adequately treated in the text, but is omitted (p. 202) from the list of his works. Other omissions are St. John G. Ervine's *Compensation*, produced 1911 in London, and Lady Gregory's first play, *Twenty-five*, which is mentioned in the text. The same holds true of Edward Martyn's *The Place Hunters*. *The Enchanted Sea* of the text (pp. 22, 27) becomes *An Enchanted Sea* (p. 204) when it reaches the bibliography. Rutherford Mayne's play, *If*, is mentioned, both in text and in bibliography, as produced in 1915. The correct date is Belfast Opera House, November 25, 1913. Mayne's *Evening*, produced at the same theatre on March 2, 1914, is not mentioned.

T. C. Murray's first play, *The Wheel of Fortune*, produced at Cork, December 2, 1909, is ignored in the text, though listed in the bibliography. No reference is made, however, to the revised version, *Sovereign Love*, produced at the Abbey Theatre, September 11, 1913, and at the Court Theatre in London, June 8, 1914. Seumas O'Kelly's play, *The Stranger*, is twice mentioned in the text (pp. 149, 150) but is not listed (p. 205). O'Kelly's *Driftwood*, played at the Gaiety Theatre, Manchester, October 11, 1915, is apparently not familiar to Mr. Boyd. The date of O'Kelly's *The Bribe* is not 1914, as given, but Abbey Theatre, December 18, 1913. To the list of Lennox Robinson's plays should be added *The White-headed Boy* (Abbey Theatre, December 13, 1916), which was produced after Mr. Boyd compiled his bibliography.

In dating the publication of Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* and *Riders to the Sea* as 1905, Mr. Boyd has overlooked the earlier appearance of these plays in *Samhain*, December, 1904, and October, 1903, respectively.

It would be unjust if these comments led to the inference that Mr. Boyd's bibliography has been carelessly done. There are innumerable opportunities for minor errors in dealing with the date of production and publication of plays, and no bibliographer of contemporary drama can print his material with absolute confidence in the accuracy of his data.

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Ludovico Ariosto: Gli Studenti (Commedia) con le Continuazioni di Gabriele e Virginio Ariosto. A cura di ABDELKADER SALZA. Città di Castello: Casa Editrice S. Lapi, 1915. 16mo., lxx + 182 pp.

This is the best modern edition of Ariosto's so-called *La Scolastica*. It comprises a preface, an appendix containing variants, Ariosto's *Gli Studenti* (unfinished), and the continuations by his brother, Gabriele, and his son, Virginio. Virginio's work, hitherto thought lost, has been discovered by the editor in a new ms. in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence.

The preface, in seven chapters, deals with the sources of the present text, and contains a detailed description of the new ms., a bibliography, and an historical account of the play (Chap. I), including its completion by the Ariosti. Salza's bibliography of editions of *La Scolastica* (Chap. II) is the most nearly complete ever published, but not reliable. He appraises the various editions of *La Scolastica* (Chap. III), in many cases giving their history. He describes in detail (Chap. IV) Gabriele's ms. of *La Scolastica*, in the Bib. Comunale at Ferrara; the various editions founded upon this ms., none of which he considers of value; and the new ms., *L'Imperfetta*, which he has discovered. He studies the sources of his edition (Chap. V), which he entitles as Ariosto intended—*Gli Studenti*. (The author's title was, exactly, *I Studenti*.) The text is based on Virginio's newly discovered ms., *L'Imperfetta*, and also

on Griphio's edition of 1547. Virginio's prologue, lacking in the new MS., has been reproduced from Barotti's edition of 1766; for Barotti declared that he copied it directly from Virginio's autograph. Gabriele's ending of *Gli Studenti* has been taken for the most part from Griphio's edition of 1547, rather than from Gabriele's autograph MS. at Ferrara, because this MS., besides containing many gaps, was probably revised by Gabriele himself for Griphio's edition. Finally, we are given seven illustrations of the superiority of Virginio's text (*L'Imperfetta*) over Griphio's edition and Gabriele's MS.

In Chap. VI Salza gives brief biographies of Virginio and Gabriele Ariosto. In Chap. VII he discusses the historical and literary importance of Ariosto's comedies, and explains in detail the plot of *Gli Studenti* with its two endings. He prefers that of Virginio, averring that it is "migliore . . . nella forma e nel verso, e, che più importa, nell' invenzione." This may be true; but we cannot all agree with Salza when he goes so far as to say that *Gli Studenti* would have been Ariosto's *best* comedy, if the author had completed it. There are many who consider *I Suppositi* and *La Cassaria* Ariosto's most sparkling comedies, and *La Lena* his most powerful play.

Salza's bibliography is the least praiseworthy part of his work; for he has accepted as authority not only bibliographers like Brunet, but also thoroughly unreliable bibliographers, such as Guidi. He has consulted, he says, besides the commoner ones, the bibliographies of Melzi-Tosi, Guidi and Tambara, and in mere completeness he has left little to be desired.

The bibliographies, however, abound with errors. For example, Graesse's bibliography (1859) records an edition of Ariosto's *I Suppositi* in verse, dated 1542. Brunet (1860) makes the same mistake. Probably what Graesse meant was that there is a copy of *I Suppositi* in prose, dated 1542,—information which he obtained from Gamba (1839), who in turn got it from Alacci (1755), whose testimony on this point happens to be correct. Salza himself (*Prefazione*) says that Mazzuchelli, Baruffaldi and Polidori cite an edition of *La Scolastica* of 1546, each deriving the information in turn from the other, but that, as this edition has not been seen by anybody, it must be considered as not existing. Either those editions alone which the editor has himself seen should have

been mentioned, in which case the library where each is to be found should have been noted; or those he has not seen should have been distinguished from the others.

Salza notes (Chap. III) thirty-six editions of *La Scolastica* (1547-1883). Sixteen of these he appears to be personally acquainted with; he does not tell us whether he has seen the remaining twenty or not. Four of the twenty do, in fact, exist, for I have seen them, as well as the sixteen probably known to the editor. But if the sixteen remaining editions noted by Salza exist, they must be extremely rare. Of these sixteen, six are quoted from Ulisse Guidi, *Annali delle Edizioni e delle Versioni dell' Orlando Furioso*, Bologna, 1861, namely: 1740 (Orlandini); 1745 (Pitteri); 1778; 1783 (Rossi); 1786; 1793 (Remondini); all of Venice. Julius Petzholdt, in his invaluable *Bibliotheca bibliographica* (Leipzig, 1866, pp. 169 ff.), names the sources from which Guidi took many of his titles, and says that though Guidi leaves little to be desired as regards completeness, the same thing cannot be said for his accuracy: in many cases he merely copied wrong titles from his sources.

Three of the remaining ten editions are mentioned in Polidori's bibliography, viz.: 1755 (Bortoli); 1771 (Remondini); 1772 (Zatta); all of Venice. But Polidori's confusion of mind was not confined to his method of preparing a text of *La Scolastica* (see *Prefazione*, p. xxxiv), and his bibliography of this play is the most unreliable ever made. Nor does the fact that Graesse also cites the two first-named editions prove that they exist: Graesse is well able to record editions of Ariosto's plays that do not exist, such as "Arezzo, Bellotti, 1756"; "1811," without further information; "Parigi, Prault, 1746, 1768, 1777"; with the remark that "les éditions suivantes des œuvres de l'Arioste ne sont pas très estimées," a saying that would appear to be true, for no one else mentions them, not even Salza.

Of the seven editions that are left, Tambara is authority for one: Firenze, 1779. The sources of the six others are not given, but three of them are mentioned in Graesse's untrustworthy bibliography, viz.: 1760¹ (Remondini, Venezia); 1780 (Remondini, Venezia); 1798 (Remondini, Bassano). The remaining three edi-

¹ This edition is mentioned in *Libreria Giovanni Dotti*, Firenze: "Ven. Remondini, 1760-61 (4 vol.), in-12." Possibly this is a genuine edition.

tions are: 1765 (Zatta, Venezia); 1823-4 (Ciardetti, Firenze); 1853 (Trieste). I am confident that the Trieste edition of 1853, without name of publisher, does not exist. An edition of Trieste which does exist, but which Salza does not mention, is the folio of 1857. A copy of this edition is to be found in the Bib. Comunale at Ferrara, and another in the Bib. Marucelliana at Florence. Still another in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples has been provided with a new title-page reading as follows: "*Opere di Lodovico Ariosto con Note Filologiche e Storiche*. Volume Unico. Milano. Presso l'Ufficio Generale di Commissioni ed Annunzi. Galleria Vittorio Emanuele N. 77."

Another edition not mentioned by Salza, which I have not seen, is recorded in the *Catalogo Generale della Libreria Italiana*, as published by Le Monnier in 1886.

However we may judge Salza's bibliography, this critical edition is immensely preferable to the two uncritical editions preceding it (Polidori, 1857, and Sonzogno, 1883).

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STEPHEN PHILLIPS AND EDGAR ALLAN POE

The *Spectator* characterizes Stephen Phillips' poem, *Cities of Hell*, as "exceedingly stirring and original;" but it may be worth while to notice that a striking similarity exists between this poem and *The Power of Words*, a dialogue by Edgar Allan Poe. In each case we have a disembodied spirit that has passed "beyond the boundaries of the earth," and in similar fashion each is made cognizant of a new idea by another spirit. In the poem there is a particular illustration of a general idea, and in the dialogue a general thought is evolved and then illustrated and emphasized by a particular instance. In *The Power of Words* the angel Agathos explains to Oinos, a spirit newly become immortal, that motion is the source of all being; God created only in the beginning; all subsequent creation is mediate or indirect. A motion of the hand upon earth produces a vibration of the atmosphere which is in-

definitely extended. Motion of any nature creates, and the source of all motion is thought.

"You are well aware," says Agathos, "that, as no thought can perish, so no act is without infinite result."¹ In the ninth stanza of Stephen Phillips' poem we find the same idea expressed in almost identical words:

Nothing done, or said, or thought,
Shall ever perish : none can ever die.

At the end of Poe's dialogue Agathos gives Oinos a very vivid illustration of the physical power of words. Every word is an impulse in the air. Oinos asks Agathos why he is weeping as they hover together above a fair star, which is the greenest and yet the most terrible of all they have encountered in their flight. "Its brilliant flowers," says Oinos, "look like a fairy dream—but its fierce volcanoes like the passions of a turbulent heart."² To this Agathos answers:

"They *are!*—they *are!* This wild star—it is now three centuries since with clasped hands, and with streaming eyes, at the feet of my beloved—I spoke it—with a few passionate sentences—into birth. Its brilliant flowers *are* the dearest of all unfulfilled dreams, and its raging volcanoes *are* the passions of the most turbulent and unhallowed of hearts."

In *Cities of Hell*, the spirit, passing beyond the earth, sees cities of earth rebuilt upon space, London, Paris, Rome and Babylon, and venturing down into that other London, comes into a chamber where above a new-murdered woman bends a man in fury. In answer to the question as to how this tragic London chamber still exists beyond the limits of the earth, the woman says,

Such power hath passion upon stones that he
Transported into space the very walls,
The hour, the room, this bed where still I droop,
Hither at death we naturally came,
Inheriting the home that moment built.

In both cases the essential idea is the same. *The Power of Words*, with a show of scientific reasoning, attempts to prove that the passionate words of Agathos by their impact upon the atmos-

¹ *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by James A. Harrison, vi, 141.

² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

phere had power to create the wild star with its brilliant flowers and raging volcanoes. Whereas in *Cities of Hell* the same scene that we have first on earth is perpetuated or recreated in Hell through the passion of a man. Stephen Phillips frankly ignores the laws of science while Poe attempts to give color to his dialogue by pseudo-scientific reasoning. As Prof. W. LeConte Stevens says:³ "Poe evidently had no more idea that his writings would be subjected to scientific analysis than did 'Munchausen.' Between the two there is no comparison, so far as refinement and genius are concerned. But they are about equally independent in neglecting the laws of scientific evidence."

Both poem and dialogue are works of the imagination rather than of the reason, and both are illustrative of the same idea that "nothing done, or said, or thought, shall ever perish."

If the dialogue and the poem be taken in their entirety, the resemblance can be more readily appreciated. One is almost compelled to believe that Stephen Phillips must have been acquainted with Poe's dialogue; if he was not, there remains an extremely remarkable coincidence.

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Fondo en . . . A RARE SPANISH IDIOM

About eight years ago Dr. C. C. Ayer of the University of Colorado called by attention to a use of the word *fondo* which dictionaries make no record of. It occurred in a passage of Moreto's *El lindo don Diego* (II, 12). The *gracioso* gives vent to his admiration for the shrewdness of the soubrette, Beatriz, in the following words, which constitute his entire speech:

¡Oh gran Beatriz, *fondo en tia*!¹

(*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIX, 363 c.)

I was unable at the time to explain or understand this locution, and find myself still in the same case. Since then I have met, however, four or five other examples, which I should like to lay

³ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

¹ There is no aunt in the play; *tia* is doubtless to be taken in the sense 'smart woman.'

before the readers of *Modern Language Notes*, in the hope that some of them may be able to offer a successful interpretation.

1. Lope de Vega, *La moza de cántaro*, II, 7. D^a. María has indicated that a poor lover is justified in seeking a sweetheart from the lower classes, so as to incur only slight expense in the necessary gifts to her; for ladies demand enormous outlay:

que para últimos empleos
de las damas, fondo en ángel,
no hay plata en el alto cerro
del Potosí, perlas ni oro
en los orientales reinos.

(*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, xxiv, 557 b.) ²

2. Doubtful author, *Lo que hace un manto en Madrid*, III.³ The *gracioso* expresses wonder at the uncanny knowledge evinced by the veiled duenna:

Esta es bruja, fondo en moza.

(*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, v, 713c, line 20.)

There are no other lines in the speech.

3. Tirso de Molina, *Las Amazonas en las Indias*, I, 3. This play is the second of Tirso's trilogy on the lives of the Pizarros. Martesia, an Amazon with the gift of prophecy, has predicted to Caravajal, the facetious old comrade of the Pizarros, that he will be executed if he returns to Lima. Thereat the veteran remarks:

Desdorara su fama si no fuera
su oficio bruja, fondo en agorera.

(Cotarelo, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, I, 553 b.)

4. Tirso de Molina, *La lealtad contra la envidia*, II, 7. The third of the Pizarro trilogy. Speech of Castillo, a *gracioso* Castilian soldier, in reply to a Peruvian woman who begs him, with tears, to spare the life of her lover:

Fuera toda petición,
toda gesticulación,
todo llanto doralice,
pues no me cupo del saco
sino las vidas que quito;
éste es general delito,
hermosa, fondo en tabaco,
no me arrumaques, que el perro
de tu cacique galán
ha de morir.

(Cotarelo, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, I, 596a.)

² Lines 1312-1316 of the text-book edition of *La moza de cántaro*, Holt, N. Y., 1913. The editor, Professor Stathers, passes in silence over fondo en ángel. So does Professor F. O. Reed, who reviewed the book in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, January, 1914.

³ *Lo que hace un manto en Madrid* is a remodeled version of *En Madrid*

5. I am in doubt if in the following passage *fondo en* has the same significance as in the others; but the meaning is sufficiently obscure to be presented.

Tras de éste otro coche viene
de hermosuras escariotes,
más ligeras y traidoras
que hacas de postillones.
Las cejas papel quemado,
y los labios de cerote,
lo blanco *fondo en Guinea*,
lo rubio pelo de cofre.

These lines occur in the midst of a long *Carta a Valle, toledano*, by Lorenzo Ortiz de Bujedo. (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 3288, vol. III, col. 1030.) They form part of a satirical description of a city not named, perhaps Cadiz.

I have not found the phrase *fondo en* cited specifically in any of the dictionaries I have consulted, among them Covarrubias and the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. Probably the key is to be found in a special interpretation of one of the ordinary definitions of *fondo*. Is *fondo en tía*, with its analogs, an exclamation, a kind of oath? Or is it equivalent to *sobre un fondo de tía, con fondos de tía*, or something of the sort? The latter would fit quotation no. 5, but how about no. 4? Does *fondo en tabaco* refer to the snuff-colored complexion of the Quechuan damsel? This much is clear; the idiom is slangy, used by good writers, but only in a facetious way. Of the five examples taken from plays, four are found on the lips of *graciosos*, or of persons acting that part at the moment.

I should welcome more light, or more examples.⁴

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y en una casa, a play considered with reason to be of Tirso de Molina. See Cotarelo, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, vol. II, Madrid, 1907, pp. xix-xx.

⁴After the above was set in type, two further examples were brought to my notice, the first by Professor Schevill, the second by Dr. E. Buceta:

Y es muy grande desvergüenza
que os toméis la mano vos
sin dármela a mí en la iglesia;
primillo, *fondo en cuñado*,
idos un poco a la lengua.

(Rojas, *Entre bobos anda el juego*, I; *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LIV, 23 b.)

Rostro de blanca nieve, *fondo en grajo*,
La tizne presumida de ser ceja.

(Quevedo, *Poesías*, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIX, 136.)

CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS ON GARRICK

Students of American history are acquainted with the reprint by Mr. Thwaites¹ of the interesting *Journal* of Captain Thomas Morris, dated "Detroit, September 25, 1764." To the value of that narrative Mr. Thwaites has done full justice in his introduction. Students of literature, however, have no such ready access to Morris's *Letter / to a / Friend / on the Poetical Elocution of the Theatre / and the / Manner of Acting Tragedy*, which immediately follows the *Journal* in his *Miscellanies / in / Prose and Verse*, London, 1791. This volume is a rarity, and of Morris himself little is known.

The Captain's chief interest from his testimony was "the Poetical Elocution of the Theatre." On this subject he regards himself as a master, and thus attacks Garrick. "To recite verse, especially rhyme, in a perfect manner, is, I believe, the rarest gift bestowed on man. England produces men excellent in every other art and science; but an excellent reciter of verse, public or private, I have not heard since the days of Quin; and I almost despair of ever hearing another. I consider it as a lost art; and it would give me extreme satisfaction to be instrumental in its recovery." Now, although the critic concedes to Garrick "many transcendent qualities: his animation, though often introduced improperly; his thorough conception of his character; his skill in managing his voice, which I think was his greatest excellence, though frequently abused; his graceful deportment; and lastly, though blemished with trick, his mute play," still he insists, "Garrick and verse were not made to agree."

The gravamen of the charge is that Garrick "played from the head and not from the heart." For that reason the Captain dissents from the view that Garrick acted from the same inspiration with which Shakespeare wrote. Rather, he says, "No two men ever differed more than Shakespeare and Garrick: the one was all nature, the other all art; but art of an exquisite kind: yet still it was art. Shakespear wrote from his heart: Garrick played from his head." Blinded by the actor's merits, the public had come to approve his foibles—"the sudden and unnatural transition of voice; the studied, and always premature, start; the pantomime gesture; and all trick . . . miserable expedients, fit only for a booth in a fair, not for royal theatres of the metropolis." In dialogue he grants Garrick "a tincture" of the skill he so warmly commended in Mademoiselle Du Menil; but censures Garrick's soliloquy as "unnatural" and exposing "his false emphasis." He "could not endure Mr. Garrick's hobble. He spoke blank verse very ill; rhyme, despicably. . . . I have been told that Mr. Gar-

¹ *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*. Cleveland, 1904.

rick said of Mrs. Siddons, that he wondered how she got rid of her ti-tum-ti. I know not how she got rid of her ti-tum-ti, but I know how, with all her excellence, she got her hobble-ti-trot: She got it, as all others got it, from Mr. Garrick." Upon Quin he bestows the compliment,—“a perfect reciter of verse,” and finds his worthiest successor in Mrs. Pope. As for Garrick, “he sacrificed sense to sound; and his sound itself was discord.” So long as Garrick is taken for its model, the Captain despairs of the English stage.

He concludes his *Letter*, therefore, with a proposal to come in person to the rescue. Merely to drop Garrick and follow nature “would not bring us to perfection for ages.” Models are needed; and these the Captain finds in Quin for reciting and in Du Menil for acting tragedy. Though they are gone, he has learned to recite, as did Quin, “from nature”; and from Du Menil he has received the art of acting tragedy. He can imitate her manner at least, “and that must serve.” He offers to transmit the traditions of Du Menil. “Thus may Garrick’s imitative acting and bad recitation be lost forever; and tragedians learn to move the heart by true feelings, and delight the ear with poetic melody.”

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A LUCKLESS MONTHLY AND AN ILL-STARRED MAIDEN

In March, 1698, appeared at Amsterdam, “chez Louis Val,” according to the title page, the first number of a periodical with the attractive name *L'Elite des Nouvelles de toutes les Cours d'Europe*. Contemporaries unanimously attribute it to Gatien de Courtilz, better known as Courtilz de Sandras. At this time he was beginning his sixth year in the Bastille, where similar enterprises had lodged him in 1693, but apparently he enjoyed considerable liberty (see Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*). Only three numbers of the journal appeared: the first contains the *nouvelles* of January, February, and March, the second those of April, the last those of May. The work is cited as having run from January through May, and this has led to the erroneous statement that five numbers appeared. The following explanation from the *Avertissement* may suffice to correct this error: “Il semblera que je m'avise un peu tard et même à contre temps en quelque façon de mettre la main à cet ouvrage, maintenant que l'année est commencée; mais comme elle n'est pas encore bien avancée, j'ai cru que je pourrais reprendre ici tout ce qui s'est passé de plus considérable dans les mois de janvier et de février, afin que si ce petit livre a le bonheur

de plaire au public, il puisse trouver à la fin de l'année tout ce qui y sera arrivé depuis le premier janvier jusqu'à la fin de décembre."

As I have said, this hope was not destined to be fulfilled. Bayle and Lelong state that the "libraire" was banished and the publication suppressed. The *Avertissement* had promised that the author would avoid on the one hand the universal flattery of the *Mercure Galant*, and on the other would refrain from slandering anyone. Possibly his bad reputation caused the ruin of his enterprise, or possibly the officers of the Bastille tightened their grip. In any case the journal has become rare—I have found but one copy, that owned by the University of Leyden.

The work seems to be a combination of the *Mercure Galant* and the *Mercure Historique et Politique* (the latter founded by Courtilz and written by him from 1686 to 1689). The news is classed by countries and published under the headings: *Nouvelles d'Italie*, *Nouvelles de France*, etc. First there is a recapitulation of political news, related with the cynical spirit of the *Mercure Historique et Politique*. Then come society items in the manner of the *Mercure Galant*, and a string of anecdotes such as Courtilz, to his cost, was always fond of collecting. Among the latter occurs the following, which is not without interest as an indication of the penetration of the extravagant manners of the *précieuses* among their humbler sisters:

"Une pauvre fille qui n'a pas un nom qui soit connu de beaucoup de monde, après avoir manqué deux ou trois mariages d'assez de conséquence depuis qu'elle fait le métier de filer le parfait amour, croyait à la fin être à la veille de se récompenser de toutes ses pertes par celui (*i. e.*, "mariage" or "amour") de M. de Mascarani, maître des requêtes, quand elle s'est rendue cause elle-même de son malheur. Ayant voulu qu'il se purgeât avant de l'épouser, elle lui a donné elle-même une pilule d'un certain charlatan en qui elle avait beaucoup de confiance; mais cette pilule a si mal opéré qu'elle l'a envoyé en l'autre monde. Après un malheur comme celui-là, il ne lui reste plus d'autre consolation que celle de prendre une semblable pilule afin de lui aller tenir compagnie; car comme elle est déjà vieille et qu'elle n'a jamais été belle, il y a apparence qu'elle ne recouvrera jamais ce qu'elle vient de perdre. Au moins, ne trouve-t-on pas tous les jours un amant qui ait soixante et dix mille livres de rente comme les avait M. de Mascarani." (*Nouvelles de France*, p. 76.)

Thus has true love never run smooth—at least for the *Cathos* et *Madelons* of this world.

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RAINOLDS' LETTER TO THORNTON

I beg leave to report an error in my article *An Elizabethan Defense of the Stage* (*Shakespeare Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin*, Madison, 1916, pp. 103-124). On page 108 of this paper I asserted that the letter of Rainolds to Thornton, dated February 6, 1591/2, had never been published. Hence I printed the letter (pp. 108-111) from Corpus Christi College ms. 352, referring to a substantially similar version of it in Bodleian Tanner ms. 77. Professor Kittredge has kindly shown me that the text from Tanner ms. 77 is printed in *The Archaeologist and Journal of Antiquarian Science*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, No. 3, November, 1841, pp. 114-117. The existence of the edition from Tanner ms. 77 appears to have been overlooked by recent writers on the Oxford academic drama (See F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, 1914, p. 232, *et pass.*; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. VI, p. 528). In spite of my regrettable error, I venture to hope that my text from C. C. C. ms. 352 may not be thought entirely superfluous. I ought to say that in comparing the text in *The Archaeologist* with photographs of its original, Tanner ms. 77, I have observed a certain number of misreadings.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Rudiments of Criticism. By E. A. Greening Lamborn (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1917). This book is to supply, "in a small compass and in a simple style, a general introduction to the meaning and scope of criticism." It has been prepared by a Headmaster of a school, who has persuaded himself that a record of his methods and of suggestions and conclusions verified by his experience as a teacher may with advantage be put into the hands of less experienced teachers of poetry and into the hands of their young pupils. The aim is to promote in the young the study and appreciation of poetry, and the fundamental doctrine to be inculcated is that poetry is to be read primarily for the form of its matter. This view of the significance of the form of poetry begets the titles of the chapters: What is Poetry? Rhythm and Rime; Poetry is Music; Sound and Sense; Stanza-Form; Pictures in Poetry; The Figures of Speech; Other Artifices and Other Arts; Poetry is Formal Beauty. The chapters are short and in the form of persuasive exposition and discussion, not in that of text-book

paragraphs. Material is supplied, in a simple style, for fundamental study and reflection and for the verification of elementary experience, not for exact recitation in the course of preparation for a final examination. The pupils are to be taught to recognize and to appreciate the elements of beauty, and school-examinations as an "end-all in education" are renounced with the earnestness, if not with the philosophic breadth and depth, of Mr. Balfour himself; for "poetry does not teach, it inspires."

One might dispute a number of Mr. Lamborn's minor details; and surely an occasional digression of thought disturbs rather than furthers his admirably simple purpose. To inveigh, incidentally, against "higher criticism" and against critics that look for a "moral purpose" in poetry is gratuitous enough; it is something worse than that to take occasion to excuse a judgment of Emerson's by saying that "good criticism can hardly be expected from a nation that has produced no good poetry" (p. 121).

The elementary character of the book is to be kept in mind. This is its merit that it is to assist in teaching children, and the closing chapter, entitled "Children's Exercises," is followed by a confirmation of the argument in the form of a supplement consisting of "verses and essays written by primary school children."

The citation of a few detached sentences from this chapter cannot fail to arouse the interest of elementary teachers: "they will find that when children are given scope for the exercise of the poetic power, which is the special gift of their time of life, the results are surprising. I am not speaking only, or even mainly, of original verse, but of the use of imagery, of the figures of speech and of pictorial epithets in descriptive essays, and of imaginative writing generally" (p. 139). "Children may try not merely to emulate the poets but even to compete with them. This is not so ridiculous as it may sound, for to have failed is to have a criterion of success. But actually, if a good deal of poetry is a rhetorical presentation of a point of view, children may find good training in attempting to set forth the opposite point of view" (p. 146). "The point I have been trying to make all through this essay is that poetry, its rhythm, its music, its imagery, its figures of speech, are instinctive in children, that they have a natural appetite for them, and an intuitive gift of using them" (p. 157). "Only a very few hours weekly for a few years are available for poetry in school; but if we can, in that brief space, awaken a love for it, the child has a whole life-time in which to develop the subject, and, through it, his own being" (p. 156). Mr. Lamborn insists also on being clearly understood on two points to be inferred from the following declaration: "I fancy that people who have no taste for poetry fall roughly into two classes, those who have been fed on sentiment till they sickened of it, and those who have been crammed with notes on meanings and allusions and grammatical examples

and biographical records until they have learned to curse the poets and all their works" (p. 17).

The unmistakable reflection in this work of a positive personality might be urged as an excuse for further citation from the expressions of a mature and earnest teacher of beginners. The book furnishes a demonstration of the value of a teacher's personality,—a matter that should receive more consideration at all points of the graded system of education.

The modernist will call this an old-fashioned treatise, with its conventional insistence on restraining rules in art-forms, and with its recognition in universal experience of the degrees of culture conditioned by natural endowments, energy of mind, diversity of pursuits, and other external conditions of life. The most modern theorist, however, must begin by agreeing with the traditional teacher that all æsthetic theory is based on the fact that man as man is endowed with mind, and the consequent fact that whatever can be accomplished by the best and the most cultivated mind is a result of effort that, in some degree of quantity (Croce), or of quality, or of both, is possible to every normal mind. This must be true for both intuitive and intellective knowledge. But this ultimate of ultimates, this 'natural man,' has developed arts and sciences, and he has done this not by sitting idly on the foundation stone. Equally futile is it to ignore the theories and 'laws' represented in the superstructure and to say "we have done with" this and that principle of symmetry and proportion, of strength or color of material, etc., and to advocate a method of construction that is to be tried not by the tests by which standards have been maintained in the past, but by the sole test, vague and impossible of definition, of having the character of a "spiritual" procedure. To carry this notice further in the direction of a reversion to the subject of "Creative Criticism" (see the preceding number of this periodical), Croce recognizes the common experience of passing from "slight to greater intuitions"; and his following statements merely confirm "traditional" criticism: "We have each of us, as a matter of fact, a little of the poet, of the sculptor, of the musician, of the painter, of the prose writer: but how little, as compared with those who are so called, precisely because of the lofty degree in which they possess the most universal dispositions and energies of human nature!" And finally, there is a significant admission of an *illusion* in average experience: "It often happens that when people meet a simple and conclusive statement of philosophic truths that may have cost the labors of centuries, they will shrug their shoulders and remark that the boasted discovery is indeed a very easy thing, plain and known of all men. Precisely the same thing occurs in the case of the most inspired creations of art, which are developed with such simplicity and naturalness that every one ex-

periences the illusion of having achieved, or of being able to achieve them himself."

Mr. Lamborn would have the teacher keep in mind the pupil's "intuitive gift" and offers a method for the initial training of that gift. That is altogether a different matter from basing a logic of aesthetics on intuition, which is a logic or theory that has to face a contention for intellectual elements in both creative and appreciative activities, and for a fundamental difference between these classes of experience.

Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
nec rude quid possit video ingenium; alterius sic
altera poscit opem res, et coniurat amice.

J. W. B.

Mr. Albert Croll Baugh has brought out a very careful edition of William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* as his thesis for a University of Pennsylvania doctorate (1917). The text of the play is printed from the first quarto of 1616 with all its imperfections on its head, even to the long *s* for *f* and a comma that fell up-side-down into its appointed place. All variants from the other quartos of 1626 and 1631 are given in footnotes with most meticulous care, more as a memorial to exact scholarship than as an aid in the interpretation of the play. The Introduction is taken up with an account of Haughton's life and work, with special consideration of this comedy and a less detailed treatment of the other plays, which were, in contrast to *Englishmen for my Money*, composed in collaboration with others. Mr. Baugh has told us all that can be known about Haughton and a good deal that cannot be connected with him. He may have gone to Oxford, and he did go to jail, "the Clink," from which Henslowe records his release at the cost of ten shillings. His will, discovered by the indefatigable Professor Wallace, is here printed for the first time, and disposes of his "goodes chattells & debtes whatsoever vnto my wief Alice Haughton towards the payment of my debtes, and the bringinge up of my children." Alas for the children, one might exclaim after reading of Henslowe's financial dealings with the father.

It is only relatively that one can agree with Mr. Baugh's enthusiastic estimate of this play as "an excellent comedy." The business-soliloquy abounds, the exposition is exceedingly artificial, and the characterization is conventional and for the most part colorless. Frisco to a certain extent redeems the play from monotony. Pisaro hardly deserves Mr. Baugh's praise, especially in what he says in his tender recollections of his wife when he is

wickedly tempting Walgrave disguised as the alluring Susan (see ll. 2210 ff.). The three sets of characters, each set of three persons, are not individualized, and three "strangers" are particularly dull, even when intelligible. It is hard to see what a contemporary audience could make out of their jargon when a modern editor is nonplussed. On the other hand, Mr. Baugh does well to point out the significance of this play as "the first regular comedy of realistic London life in the English drama" and "of first importance in the development of the usurer play." The scenes laid in London streets are the precursors of the Jonsonian comedy, and the usurer episodes prefigure those in many comedies which bear a striking resemblance to Haughton's.

J. W. T.

Two timely little books recently issued by the University of Chicago Press are *First Lessons in Spoken French for Men in Military Service*, by Messrs. Wilkins, Coleman, and Huse, and *Le Soldat Américain en France*, by Messrs. Coleman and La Meslée.

The first of these presents in 124 pages the chief points of French grammar and gives lists of military terms and words the "Sam-mies" will find useful during their early sojourn in France. To teach pronunciation a simple, easily assimilated, phonetic transcription is used, and this is exclusively employed for the reading exercises, tho the individual words in the vocabularies are given with the ordinary spelling as well.

It is remarkable how much real information has been given in such small compass. After a careful review of pronunciation, the elemental questions of gender, article, the partitive, pronouns, interrogation, and negation follow in immediate succession. Simple explanations are given of the usual difficulties, and exceptions are properly omitted. In the remaining four-fifths of the booklet, the emphasis is entirely on the verb, the object pronouns being taught in this connection. Isolated chapters here and there treat of adjectives, numerals, telling time, and dates. Despite its size, it is doubtful if any grammatical points are omitted which should really be taught students in their first year of French, and the combination of such a grammar with extensive reading of easy texts should give better results than our present methods in the one-year courses in modern languages which now satisfy the requirements of so many of our technical schools.

The second text of the series is a book adapted for use in school and college classes, just as well as in training camps. In short, concise chapters the essential details of French geography, climate, and daily life are presented. Transportation, money, postal service, food, and clothing are some of the things treated, not to mention the more technical subjects which directly affect the soldier's life.

In order that this book may be used without reference to the more elementary one, a clear exposition of French pronunciation is given in the opening pages, there follows a list of generally useful phrases, while specific locutions are prefixed to each of the chapters. These are intended for oral practice, and the student thus learns insensibly those idiomatic expressions which are so hard to acquire yet so necessary for a proper understanding of the language. The book closes with a vocabulary, in which the pronunciation of each word is figured, and with a short pronouncing list of the French proper names now on everyone's lips. Just before the vocabulary are one or two lists of slang terms most useful for the prospective soldier.

It would not be right to conclude this brief mention without stating that the authors of these most serviceable text-books have generously offered the royalties on the first to the Army work of the Y. M. C. A., and those on the second to the *Œuvre de l'orphelinat des armées françaises*.
M. P. B.

In commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, Professor G. C. L. Riemer has published a new English version of Freytag's *Doctor Luther* (Philadelphia, The Lutheran Publication Society). In the earlier translation of H. E. O. Heinemann (1897) the material had been re-arranged, and rendered into English in a rather free translation: Riemer, on the other hand, follows Freytag's diction closely, without doing violence to the genius of the English language. Now and then, to be sure, the translator fails to hit the exact meaning. For example, *Console* (p. 44, 21) should be *persuade*; *blessed bread* (45, 10) should be *daily bread*; *become blessed* (50, 20) should be *be saved*; *small forms of literature* (53, 1) should be *pamphlet literature*; *consecration* (140, 23) should be *Holy Orders*. There are also a number of misprints and errors of omission, which would escape the casual reader: for *wounded* (63, 8) read *wounding*; for *September* (112, 7) read *December*; on p. 115, 21, 24, read *Ebernburg*; on p. 118, 15, read *Pappenheim*; after *February* (112, 21) insert *1521*; after *excitement* (113, 3) insert *among the people*; before *O dear God* (171, 26) the words *it must be a great unspeakable wrath* have dropped out.

In addition to the text proper, the book offers a short biography of Gustav Freytag, biographical and geographical notes, and a table of dates, which should prove helpful to the general reader. There are also a number of illustrations, portraying Luther as Junker Georg, Hans Luther, Margarethe Luther, Katharina von Bora, Melancthon, and Frederick the Wise. The work is well printed, and should prove an acceptable addition to our literature on the Hero of the Reformation.
K. J. G.

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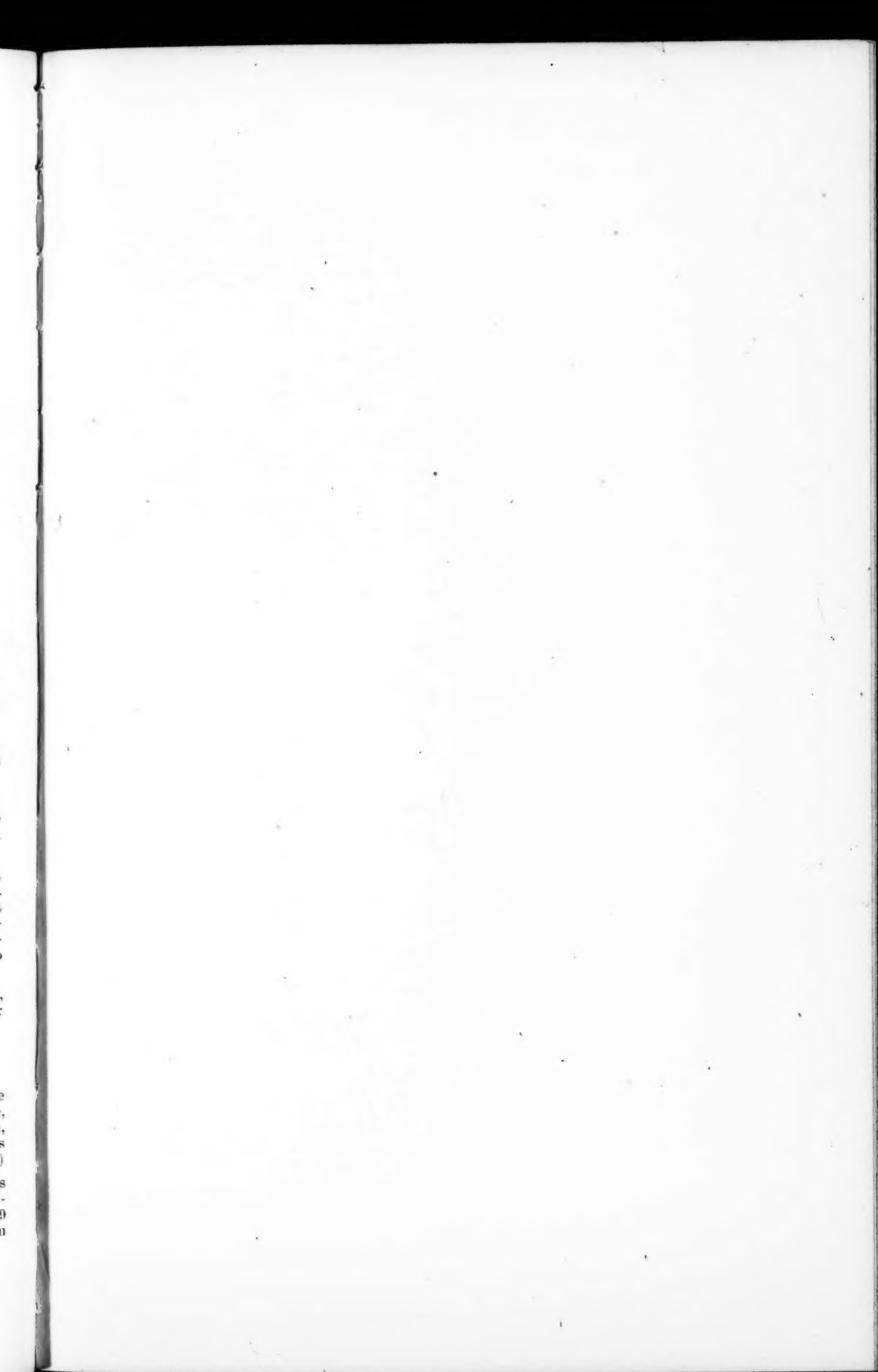
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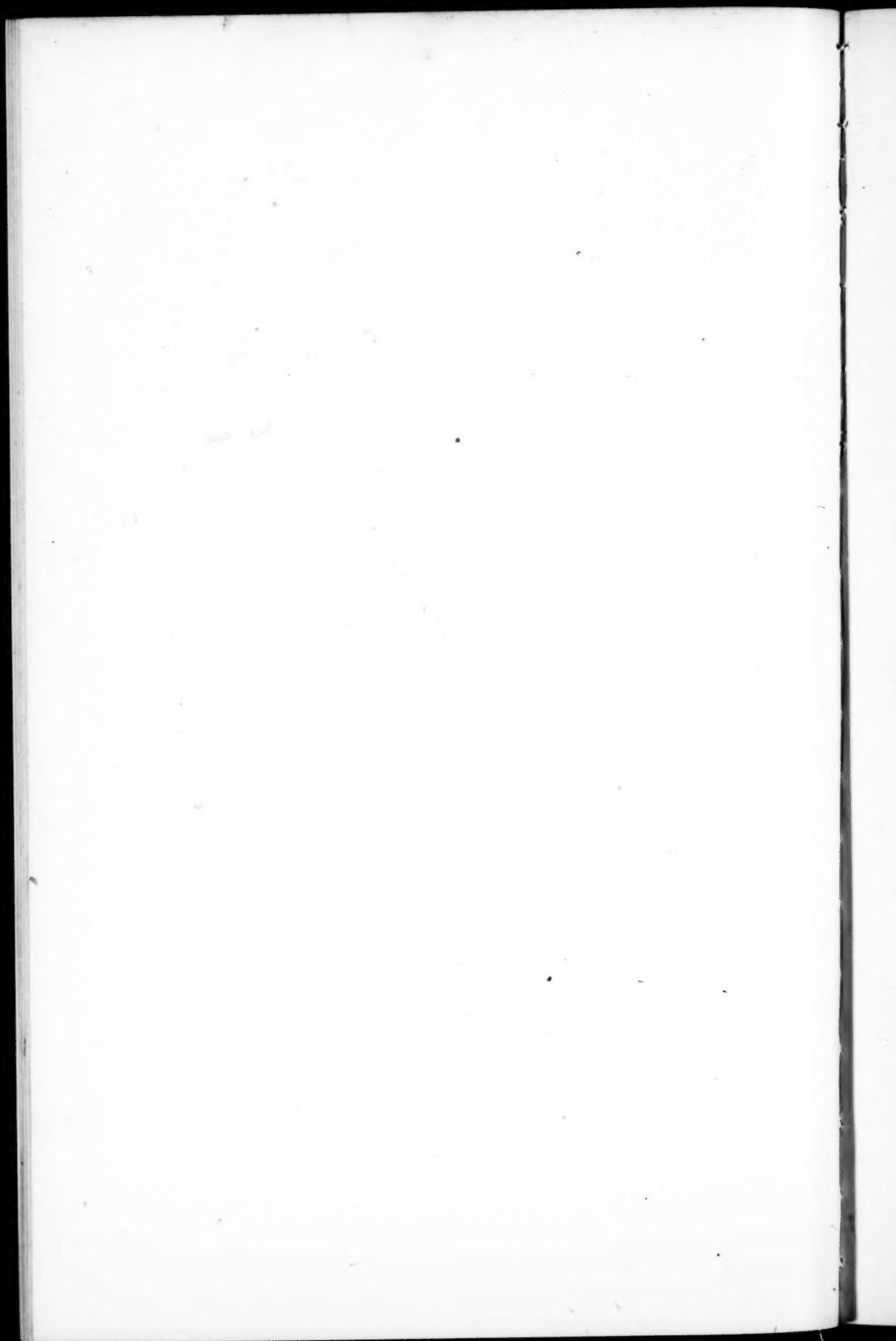
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